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A Quaker Experiment in Government.

WILLIAM PENN.

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A QUAKER EXPERIMENT IN GOVERNMENT

By ISAAC SHARPLESS
PRESIDENT OF HAVERFORD COLLEGE

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"For my country I eyed the Lord in the obtaining of it, and more was I drawn inward to look to him and to owe it to his hand and power, than to any other way. I have so obtained it and desire that I may not be unworthy of his love and do that which may answer his kind providence and serve his truth and people; that an example may be set up to the nations; there may be room there though not here for such *a holy experiment.*"

WILLIAM PENN.

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PREFACE.

It is not at all unlikely that this contribution to the early history of Pennsylvania will show a bias towards the habits of thought and action which have characterized the religion of the ancestors of the writer. If so it is unintentional.

The purpose of the book is to include, with other sources of information, the contemporary Quaker view. This has been gained by a careful examination of Meeting Records and private letters of the times, and a fairly intimate personal acquaintance with many who probably represent, in this generation, in their mental and moral characteristics, the "Quaker Governing Class" of the first century of the Province.

The ordinary public sources of information have, of course, been used ; but a dependence on these alone would incur the danger, if not of misrepresenting facts, at the best of giving to them a wrong coloring.

While the general ideas of Quakerism were worked out in Penn's Frame of Government they were not fully manifest in the subsequent history

of the Province, nor even in the acts of the Assembly, though this body was controlled by Friends until 1756.

The minutes of the Yearly and other Meetings would give a different idea of the political principles and bias of Friends from that to be gathered from the printed proceedings of either the Council or the Legislature, and all should be considered in making up a correct historical judgment.

The efforts of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania have brought together much unused material. An authentic and impartial history of Colonial Pennsylvania is yet to be written.

I. S.

Haverford College,
1898.

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A Quaker Experiment in Government.

CHAPTER I.

PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.

The principles upon which the settlers of Pennsylvania sought to base their government were,—

1. Perfect democracy. This hardly needs qualification. For while the governor was non-elective and to some extent thwarted the will of the people, this was probably not the original intention, but rather an unexpected development of proprietary rights as construed by unsympathetic heirs of William Penn.

2. Perfect religious liberty. There was no restriction on the free worship of any orderly sect, and originally no religious test for office except a profession of belief in Jesus Christ. It is not unlikely that this limitation was imposed by English authority or from fear of English veto.

3. Perfect justice and fairness in dealing with aborigines and neighbors. Without concerning themselves to define the Indian rights in the

soil, whatever existed were purchased, and all complaints were met by an evident desire to recognize in others the same personal privileges they claimed for themselves.

4. The absence of all military and naval provision for attack and defense. They recognized the necessity for force through police and other agencies in internal disturbance. They would never need any force for attack, because they would never be the aggressors. In the matter of defense there were differences of opinion, and the public acts of the Quaker Assembly may be fairly construed as in some instances inconsistent with their principles. But a careful study of the records of the meetings of Friends as well as the public records of the government will probably convince an unprejudiced person that a belief in the impropriety of an armed force was indeed one of their strongly held convictions.

5. The abolition of Oaths. This did not necessarily introduce any difficult principle of government. It afforded, however, an excellent opportunity for English and provincial enemies to harass those in official life, either by requiring them to take oaths themselves or to administer them to others.

All of these principles had been many times

expounded, and some of them practised, before 1682. But the collection had not before been tried. It was the legitimate fruit of the religious principles of the Society of Friends, and of the best thought and experience of William Penn. But it was only a "Holy Experiment,"—the responsibility was very great, the many chances for failure must have been at least partly foreseen, and the spectacle of these pioneers mustering their confidence in "the Truth," risking their happiness, their fortunes, and the reputation of their religious Society, is one of the exalted scenes of history. The measure of success they achieved deserves, probably, more recognition than it has received. Had they been independent of English control, the experiment would have been more conclusive. The frame of government was examined and perhaps modified by the Crown, and the royal power was appealed to not infrequently to threaten forfeiture of charter and abridgement of liberty in cases of disagreement. All laws enacted were subject to English veto. English quarrels with France, reproduced in the New World, strained the pacific principles of the Pennsylvania Quakers repeatedly, and finally broke their control of government. The consent of the governed retained

these principles in power for a half century after the sect which embodied them most conspicuously was in a minority, and would have retained them we know not how much longer, could that consent alone have determined the question. It was the power of the English government exercised in response to the demands of the minority in the Province which forced the alternative of sacrifice of power or sacrifice of principle on the part of the popularly-elected Quaker Assembly. It was the same power which by enforcing the necessity of administering oaths, drove from office many of the most reliable exponents of the Founder's policy.

William Penn and his friends, after three decades of suffering such as has seldom fallen to the lot of Englishmen to endure, found resting upon them the direct responsibilities of government. Hitherto the State had been to them not a beneficent agency, but a cruel oppressor. They suffered passively, for deeply engraved in their belief was the Biblical sentiment, "The powers that be are ordained of God." But they felt also that the maintenance of certain sacred principles was a duty which transcended all obligations to human government. Here in Pennsylvania was

the chance to make the Divine Law and the human law one. They embraced the opportunity, and the responsibility of success or failure was upon them. They had to prove that their beliefs were not, as their enemies claimed, chimerical and unworkable. So fearful seemed the consequences of failure, not to themselves, but to "Truth," that the retention of power was a duty, not a privilege. The English Crown, by a stroke of the pen, could subvert their liberties, destroy the fruits of their labors, and establish the triumph of that which in their eyes was the error from which they felt they had been delivered. It is not surprising that they went to the verge of consistency, and perhaps at times a little beyond, in order to tide over difficulties which it was hoped were only temporary. The alternative was a forfeiture of charter, perhaps fines and jails for conscience' sake, the destruction of all which they had left their English homes to build up. They hoped to maintain a consistent policy until they should survive the experimental stage and establish a successful state. But there were sacrifices of principle they could not make, and after seventy-four years of control, they sadly gave up the contest

with the knowledge that the battle had been only partly won.

No one can appreciate the history of Colonial Pennsylvania who does not understand the spirit, the methods, and the beliefs of the Society of Friends. The failure to grasp these firmly, the dependence upon public records exclusively for the materials of history, has been the cause of serious misjudgments in many otherwise admirable narratives of the times.

CHAPTER II.

THE QUAKERS IN ENGLAND.

William Penn was about 22 years old when he decided to become a Quaker. This decision has had a profound influence upon the history of America. He was the beloved son of Vice-Admiral Sir William Penn, a distinguished officer of the navy who had achieved distinction under the Commonwealth and Charles II. He was rich, talented, highly educated, attractive in person and manner, and a brilliant career at court or in his father's profession was open to him. But a growing seriousness at times threatened to disappoint the hopes his father entertained of his preferment.

It is hardly to be wondered at that in these times a development of religious interests should provoke alarm in such a father. England was full of Puritan sects of all imaginable forms of belief, many of them crude, but most of them earnest. In fact almost all of the religious fervency of the nation had gone in a Puritan direction. A growth in earnestness was very often a precursor to some unexpected outbreak of doctrinal allegiance, which, no matter how absurd,

would hold its votaries through obloquy and persecutions even unto death. The courage and honesty of England deserted the court and took up their abode among the sectaries. These lost all chance of official recognition in State affairs or court society, but a sense of a deeper loyalty and of a higher career was more than an equivalent for the loss.

Hence when the young Oxford undergraduate developed some distaste for the established forms, and rather than absent himself from certain unauthorized religious meetings with his companions, allowed himself to be expelled from the University, he did not receive a warm welcome at home. Driving from the house did not accomplish a cure, but an extended visit to Paris and to the theological school at Saumur was more effective, and he returned "a most modish person, grown quite a fine gentleman." *

This did not last long, and a growing seriousness took him to a meeting of Friends in Cork, whither he had gone to attend to his father's Irish estates. He there heard the words from the mouth of Thomas Loe which determined his religious association, his attitude towards society and government, and his lifelong convictions.

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* Pepys.

This was in 1666. George Fox had been preaching for twenty years, and multitudes apparently ripe for the new teaching had flocked to his standard. There were already thousands of Quakers, as they were called in opprobrium. They were inhumanly persecuted, but they throve on it. The jails were full of them, and foul places the jails of those days were, but more crowded into the meetings, full of the martyr spirit.

It is not necessary to give here a full account of Quaker doctrine. Only such portions will be referred to as seem to have some bearing on the production of the type which afterwards found its way into Pennsylvania and embodied itself in the frame of government, the laws, the institutions, and the customs of the State.

That the Divine Being speaks directly to the heart of every man was the central point of the teaching—central in that it was the tenet most pressed by the ministers as of vital consequence to the individual believer, and central in that it was logically "the root of the goodly tree of doctrine which sprang from it."* Their Christian lives consisted in obedience to this voice, variously called the Seed, Grace, Light of

* William Penn.

Christ, Word of God, Christ Within. George Fox said it was his business to point men to Christ and to leave them there, and almost any one of the countless sermons of which we have abstracts in the Journals of Friends contains in more or less obscure and mystical language the statement that the kingdom of God is within men. This doctrine was effective in their mouths and contagious, and thousands of Christians settled down under its influence, to draw their spiritual nourishment and impulses from this Divine Source. The plain layman looked to the Spirit of God to guide him in the comprehension of the Bible and other sources of spiritual truth, and to a greater or less extent in the affairs of daily life ; the church officer performed his functions under a sense of its continual direction ; the minister preached and preached only when he apprehended it gave him a direct and immediate message to the congregation before him. Men could not determine its course. Into the hearts of the most illiterate came its power, and words uttered by them were as authoritative as if spoken by the university graduate. It reduced to a spiritual level all ranks of birth, sex, fortune or education. The message, not the

form of its delivery nor the messenger through whom it came, was to be the object of reverence, for that message was from God, who selected among His servants the one to deliver it. If in a meeting the ministers sat upon a higher bench facing the congregation, it was only for convenience of speaking and not to assume direction, and not infrequently came the inspired voice of exhortation or prayer from the commonest member of the crowded assemblage. No line was drawn between clergy and laity. It was a spiritual democracy as well as a social one. No ordination made any hierarchy—only there was a formal recognition that upon this man or woman God had conferred a spiritual gift of some sort to benefit the world.

The Grace was universal. Every man in Christian or heathen lands had felt its influence, and if yielded to, his salvation might be effected. It was the function of the missionary to call attention to it, to turn hearts to the Christ within, as well as to inform them of the Christ of history, whose Deity and Atonement they plainly stated, to weaken dependence upon anything human and to induce everyone to take his own spiritual responsibility upon himself. The deliverances of this Divine grace were at first slight

and obscure, but obedience brought clearness of perception and definiteness of understanding, till the habit was begotten of living in the continual experience of its guidance and discipline.

Such men could not fail to be democrats in the ordinary affairs of life. Because many made a distinction in rank, by addressing some with a *you* and others with a *thee*, they testified against inequality by using the singular pronoun to all. Because in the obsequiousness of the manners of the day, men would bow to the great and scorn the poor, they bowed to none. Because the newly imported doffing of the hat was only given to those in high place, the Quaker's hat stayed on his head in the presence of King and courtier, priest, judge and magistrate.* The doctrine of human equality was to them more than a theory, it was a principle to be incorporated with their social and political institutions, to go to jail for, if need be to die for.

The same principles determined their manner

* "My friend Penn came there, Will Penn the Quaker, at the head of his brethren to thank the Duke (Ormond) for his kindness to the people of Ireland. To see a dozen scoundrels with their hats on, and the Duke complimenting with his hat off, was a good sight enough."—Swift to Stella, January 15th, 1712.

of worship. Discarding all sacraments as tending to obscure the brightness of the spiritual baptism and communion which above all things they desired, they met not to hear preaching or sacred music or emotional human impulses, or to take part in ritual or ceremony, but to hear the words of God as they came directly to the waiting heart, or mediately through an inspired messenger. Without preparation, each one believing in his own capacity for priestly approach to the source of all truth and instruction and comfort, they sat in silence to await whatever influences came to their souls, and so real was this communion that there are frequent accounts of meetings of entirely wordless worship, where there was such tender union of spirit that the floor was wet with their overflowing tears, their hearts were strengthened and confirmed in their Divine Master, and they were braced to stand with quietness and fortitude all the trials of their persecuted life.

Their morality was based on the New rather than the Old Testament, and they accepted the current views as to its inspiration and authority. The Sermon on the Mount, if not in every respect a literal standard of conduct, was not to be explained away as a millennial model only, but

as something to be obeyed in this present world. But here again all Biblical truth was in one respect subordinate to the voice of direct revelation, to which it owed its origin. It was permitted to use it to test the validity of professed inspiration, for the Divine teaching must be consistent with itself. It was of unquestioned authority, but the proper application of its rules could only be made by the same Spirit who gave it birth.

From the Bible therefore, thus interpreted, the Friends derived their ethical ideas. It told them "Swear not at all," and that command they accepted unquestioningly and absolutely. Again, its direct teaching and whole spirit testified against war and fighting and in favor of love and forgiveness, and they refused all participation direct or, so far as they could, indirect in any war or warlike measures. It exalted the spiritual over the temporal, and they preached much and practiced much the greatest simplicity of dress, furniture and living. It exhorted obedience to government, and here they had a difficult task. For the government of the day commanded disobedience to their principles and, not following the teaching of Hobbes, then newly given to the world, they continuously disregarded its commands.

As Peter affirmed before the Sanhedrin, "We ought to obey God rather than man," as Socrates declared before his judges, "Athenians, I will obey God rather than you," so when the slightest point of conscience was done violence to by law or human command, to the Friend it became as the apple of his eye, and no power on earth could require its violation. They obeyed the law which demanded their appearance at court on an unrighteous charge, or which detained them in a jail with open doors, when the authorities evidently hoped to be rid by inadvertence of a troublesome prisoner, but the conventicle act interfering with their religious worship had no validity for them. Deprived on trifling pretenses of all the rights of Englishmen, they never in an age of plotting did anything to justify the government in any suspicions as to their loyalty; but the legal requirement of an oath of allegiance was refused with the assurance of perfect rectitude. "Where we can not actually obey we patiently suffer," says William Penn, and such was their consistent attitude.

It is surprising that a people so just as the English have generally proved themselves to be should have consented for so long a time to the severe persecutions of these pacific, conscientious

fellow-citizens. It was very easy in those days to find excuses legal and otherwise to fine and imprison them. They would not pay tithes to support a religion of which they disapproved, and hence incurred the enmity of the ecclesiastical Presbyterians and Independents of the Commonwealth, and the ecclesiastical Episcopalians of the later Stuarts. Their goods were distrained in extravagant amounts, and they brought into court. Once there it was very easy to fine them for contempt for not removing the hat and to send them to jail till the fine was paid, which it would never be with their consent ; or to require them to take an oath of allegiance, always in order, which would result in a similar imprisonment. The Conventicle act of the reign of Charles II., prohibiting more than five persons outside the resident family to meet together except according to the forms of the Church of England, they most persistently disobeyed, and went wholesale to jail, to be followed next meeting day by the children, who kept up the assemblies, in the meeting houses, on their ruins, or in the street as near as the officers' presence would permit.*

* After explaining how easy it was to break up the wor-

The foulness of the dungeons into which they were cast, the cruelties of jailers, the impoverish-

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ship of other denominations by abstracting some of their machinery, Masson says: "Not so a Quakers' meeting, where men and women were worshipping with their hearts and without implements, in silence as well as in speech. You may break in upon them, hoot at them, roar at them, drag them about; the meeting, if it is of any size, essentially still goes on till all the component individuals are murdered. Throw them out of the door in twos and threes, and they but re-enter at the window, and quietly resume their places. Pull their meeting-house down, and they re-assemble next day most punctually amid the broken walls and rafters. Shovel sand or earth upon them, and there they still sit, a sight to see, musing immovably among the rubbish. This is no description from fancy. It was the actual practice of the Quakers all over the country. They held their meetings regularly, perseveringly, and without the least concealment, keeping the doors of their meeting-houses purposely open, that all might enter, informers, constables, or soldiers, and do whatever they chose. In fact, the Quakers behaved magnificently. By their peculiar method of open violation of the law, and passive resistance only, they rendered a service to the common cause of all nonconformist sects which has never been sufficiently acknowledged. The authorities had begun to fear them as a kind of supernatural folk, and knew not what to do with them, but cram them into gaols, and let them lie there. In fact, the gaols in those days were less places of punishment for criminals than receptacles for a great proportion of what was bravest and most excellent in the manhood and womanhood of England."—Masson's "Life of John Milton and History of His Time," VI., 587-8.

"We shall engage by God's assistance to lead peaceable, just and industrious lives amongst men, to the good and

ment of families, produced untold sufferings, but cemented the Society in a strong family feeling. They volunteered to serve out each other's sentences in jail,* they aided whenever

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example of all. But if after all we have said, sufferings should be the present lot of our inheritance from this generation, be it known to them all—That meet we must and meet we can not but encourage all to do (whatever we sustain) in God's name and authority, who is Lord of Hosts and King of Kings."—William Penn, "The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience."

*"In love to our brethren that lie in prisons and houses of correction and dungeons, and many in fetters and irons and have been cruelly beat by the cruel gaolers, and many have been persecuted to death and have died in prisons and on straw" we "do offer up our bodies and selves to you for to put us as lambs into the same dungeons and houses of correction, and their straw and nasty holes and prisons and do stand ready a sacrifice for to go into their places that they may go forth and not die in prison as many of the brethren are dead already. For we are willing to lay down our lives for our brethren and to take their sufferings upon us that you would inflict on them. . . . . And if you will receive our bodies which we freely tender to you for our Friends that are now in prison for speaking the truth in several places; for not paying tithes; for meeting together in the fear of God; for not swearing; for wearing their hats; for being accounted as vagrants; for visiting Friends and for things of a like nature: We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being a sufficient number are waiting in Westminster-hall for an answer from you to us, to answer our tenders and to manifest our love to our Friends and to stop the wrath and judgment from coming to our enemies." Among this noble band of men who thus offered

possible, and finally organized the Meeting for Sufferings, under which peculiar title the representative body of the Yearly Meeting still exists in London and Philadelphia.

In 1680 William Penn and two others presented to King and Parliament a compilation of their sufferings. Ten thousand had been in prison, and 243 had died there, mainly from cruel usage. Two-thirds of the estates of a large number had been confiscated under the plea that they were Papists in disguise. Exorbitant fines had been imposed in other cases. As many as 4,000 were in jail at one time a little later than this, and there seemed but little prospect of the trouble abating. Nor had there been any effect, so far as stopping Quakerism was concerned. The Society was growing rapidly, and every one of the persecuted had practically said with William Penn, "My prison shall be my grave before I will budge a jot, for I owe obedience of my conscience to no mortal man."

Such was the man to whom was given Pennsylvania as a means of extinguishing an old debt of 16,000 pounds owed him by the Crown, and

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themselves to Parliament were some who were afterwards settlers in Pennsylvania.

who was accorded quite large liberty in determining the nature of its government. Such were the people upon whom he depended to form the nucleus of his settlement and give it character.

Those who emigrated were mainly but not exclusively English yeomen—tillers of the soil, who found in Pennsylvania not only a congenial political atmosphere, but fertile lands which they knew how to improve. They very largely appropriated to themselves the country along the west side of the Delaware River from Trenton to Wilmington, and founded the cities of Philadelphia and Chester. That they retained the same characteristics in the New World they had developed in the Old, and added to them the more active qualities which come from the assumption of the responsibilities of government, will be evident as we proceed.

CHAPTER III.

THE QUAKERS IN EARLY PENNSYLVANIA.

The organization of the Society of Friends existing in England was reproduced in America. It was due to the good sense and practical genius of George Fox, and was probably worked out during his cruel imprisonment of nearly three years in Lancaster and Scarboro' jails. The central authority, at first representative, ultimately became an assembly of all members of the Society, the men and women meeting as different bodies. This constituted the Yearly Meeting. The Quarterly Meetings reported to this, and were in turn divided into Monthly Meetings, the real working bodies of the organization, in matters relating to the individual members. The Monthly Meeting undertook to see that justice was done between man and man, that disputes were settled, that the poor were supported, that delinquents, whether as to the Society's own rules or those of the State, were reformed, or if reformation seemed impossible, were "disowned" by the Society, that applicants for membership were tested and

finally, if satisfactory, received, that all the children were educated, that certificates of good standing were granted to members changing their abodes, that marriages and burials were simply and properly performed, and that records were fully and accurately kept. Under these were the Preparative Meetings.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting dates back to 1681, when a number of Friends met at Burlington on "the 31st day of the 6th month" (August). Oscillating for a time between Burlington and Philadelphia, it finally settled down to regular seasons in Penn's city. The territory embraced monthly meetings on both sides of the Delaware River in New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania, and later some in Maryland.

Had all the inhabitants been Friends and amenable to their discipline, very little civil government would have been needed in internal affairs. The work of the legislature might have been devoted mainly to questions involving titles, etc., to property, and courts of law would have been shorn of nearly all their criminal and much of their civil business, while sheriffs and policemen, jails and punishments might almost have been omitted as unnecessary. Indeed this was practically the case for some decades in

Pennsylvania in country districts where the Quaker element constituted nearly the whole population.*

The Friends had a testimony against courts of law, at least till all other methods had been tried. They provided tribunals of their own, unbound by any legal trammels, to decide differences among Friends by considerations of the equities of each particular case.† Such decisions cost

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* "The flock committed to my charge is indeed small, but God be thanked generally sound, which is as much as can well be expected, considering the genius of the bulk of the people among whom we live. I need not tell you that Quakerism is generally preferred in Pennsylvania, and in no county of the province does the haughty tribe appear more rampant than where I reside (Chester), there being by a modest computation 20 Quakers besides dissenters to one true church-man."—December 30th, 1712, "Papers Relating to the Church in Pennsylvania," page 69.

† "That if any personal difference doth arise among Friends, that they may be speedily advised to refer it to one or two honest Friends, and if it cannot be ended, then to lay it before the preparative meetings to whom they belong for the speedy ending of the same."—Chester Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 3, IX., 1701. In these minutes the old spelling is not followed.

"It's the sense and agreement of this meeting according to the agreement of the Yearly Meeting of London in the year 1697, when any Friends have any difference one with the other (if they do not agree it between themselves) that they first speedily refer it to indifferent, impartial, and judicious friends, mutually chosen between them, and to

nothing, arrived at substantial justice, and left the disputants in an amicable frame of mind towards each other and the arbitrators. The early minutes of the monthly and quarterly meetings contain abundance of descriptions of such cases. After tracing the matter through several successive meetings, the account usually ends with the statement that all parties are satisfied.* This result was the more easily arrived at be-

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stand to their award if they agree to make any, but if they do not agree, then either party may have liberty to bring their said difference to the preparative meetings to which both of them belong, and if they do not end it in mutual satisfaction, then they may have liberty to appeal to the monthly meeting, and so farther."—Ibid., 2, IX., 1702.

* . . . " Difference between C. E. of one party and G. H. and R. W. of the other party, about the throwing down of some old ruins of a mill dam, which difference was debated in this meeting, and the said parties mutually referring the determination thereof to the meeting, which is that C. E. shall pay the court charges on G. H.'s account and two-thirds of the charges on R. W.'s account, and that G. H. and R. W. acknowledge that they were too forward in doing what they did without the said C. E.'s leave; and that the said C. E. shall acknowledge to this meeting his forwardness in prosecuting of them by law without the consent of the meeting. They jointly acknowledge their satisfaction."—Chester Quarterly Meeting, 7, VI., 1699.

" L. B. brought in his paper of condemnation for quarreling and fighting with some of the servants; and at his request it was read and accepted, and he advised to read it

cause in most quarrels, errors exist on both sides, sometimes of action, sometimes only of hasty or derogatory words, and all parties could be induced not only to make financial restitution, but also to present the proper apologies and admissions. It is these small occasions of difference which often seriously mar the good fellowship of a neighborhood, and the plan of the Friends was admirably adapted to settle them in their

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according both in the meeting and court."—Bucks Quarterly Meeting, 1684.

"——— complain against some of our young Friends to assenting and assisting to a forward and unadvised action in going to correct a man for beating his wife, which practice is contrary to our principles; for which the said persons have offered their acknowledgment for their offence, which is accepted."—Concord Monthly Meeting, 1740.

"The difference between J. R. and W. W. offered to the meeting in order to compose the same. W. W. acknowledgeth he spoke foolishly in comparing him to a London pickpocket and the like, and sorry for the same, which J. R. did accept of, desiring and intending hereby that there be an end of strife from the beginning to this day."—Chester Monthly Meeting, 6, IX., 1686.

"Friends,—Whereas I contended with my neighbor for what I apprehended to be my right, by endeavoring to turn a certain stream of water into its natural course, till it arose to a personal difference; in which dispute I gave way to a warmth of temper, so far as to put my friend into the pond; for which action of mine, being contrary to the good order of Friends, I am sorry, and desire through Divine assistance to live in unity with him for the future."—Wilmington Monthly Meeting, 1751.

initial stages. Should the arbitrament be refused, there remained only the recourse of separation from the Society; but this was only resorted to after every endeavor was made for months together to bring the offender to terms. In rare cases it was necessary to have a judicial decision, especially where one party was not a member.*

The business matters of Friends were looked into, where any possibility of danger existed. It was felt that the body had a responsibility for the conduct of each individual which it could not evade.† Most cautiously was the duty performed. Advice was offered by "concerned Friends"; finally the power of the meeting was invoked, and only after months of earnest labor in the case of a refractory member was "disown-

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* "J. C. having not made satisfaction according to the last monthly meeting's order, therefore this meeting leaves J. W. to his liberty to take his course with him at law."—Chester Monthly Meeting.

† "Pursuant to an order from the Quarterly Meeting this meeting appoints ——— and ——— to inspect into the concerns of Friends whom they have any suspicion of any Friends going backwards in their outward concerns, so as to bring reproach upon Truth and damage to the creditors."—Chester Monthly Meeting, 25, X., 1710.

ment" resorted to. The advice* of the higher meetings finally crystallized into a requirement for each monthly meeting to answer three times a year, plainly and honestly, the query, "Are Friends punctual to their promises and just in the payment of their debts?" A man observed to be going into business beyond his ability to manage, or so largely as to detract from his attention to meeting matters, was warned in advance of a possible calamity, and often saved himself.† All preference to creditors or tendency to save anything from a business failure was sufficient cause for extended "labour" on the part of Friends, to be followed either by repentance or disownment.

Nor were moral delinquencies which involved directly the offender only ever passed over if they came to the ears of the meeting. The early records contain but little reference to any-

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* "Advised that all Friends be very careful in making and vending all provisions and other commodities for transportation, taking care that the same be good and of due fineness, measure and weight."—Yearly Meeting, 1713.

† "Inasmuch as I have bought a piece of land in Chester contrary to the advice of Friends, for which I am sorry, and acknowledge I should not have done it."—Chester Monthly Meeting, 27, XI., 1693.

thing of the sort, being mostly taken up with getting the young people married according to the Quaker order. The original immigrants, brought together by convictions of stern duty under the persecutions of England, were not likely to indulge in any libertinism. Others, however, of a different sort came with them. It is known that very early in the history of the colony, the caves in the banks along the Delaware, made by the settlers while building their houses, became the resort of a class whose loose life greatly disturbed the orderly Quakers. The birthright idea brought a second generation of Friends upon the scene who had not endured the discipline of their fathers. These were in some cases infected by the influences around them. There are many evidences that Friends were alert to the dangers which seemed to be growing up.* The meetings

* "We find a pressing concern earnestly to excite all our dear Friends, brethren and sisters, seriously to consider the state of things in this land, so lately a wilderness. When on the one hand we look back to the many blessings we have received, and the protection and peace we have enjoyed, how greatly doth it concern us to be humbled before the Almighty, and with grateful hearts take due heed to our walking before him; and on the other hand, when we take a view of the great increase of the people, and consider how many among them appear regardless of religion, probity and virtue, who seem to combine in

brought all possible influence to bear on their Quaker Assembly to abate immorality. This Assembly did not seem at all unwilling to do what it could, and while not going quite to the length of the Puritan New Englanders, kept in operation laws against gambling, cards and dice, theatres, swearing, lying and drunkenness.

But the main duty of the meeting was to the individual offenders. After a few decades the Monthly Meeting minutes begin to show cases, not a few in the aggregate, of drunkenness and its attendant brawls, and also of personal immorality of other sorts, which were treated with the greatest plainness. The first record would be in the nature of a complaint of a preparative meeting that A. B. had been guilty of a definitely named offence, for which his or her friends had labored earnestly without avail to induce repentance, acknowledgment and reformation.

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an uncommon manner to rush into immoralities and tumultuous practices, using many artful means to draw others to fall in with them, and the more perhaps because of the number of Friends who are inhabitants here, and that some are concerned in the government, by this means, since they can not persecute them as in times past, to give them trouble of another sort—how very careful ought we to be to oppose and discourage them as much is in us lies."—Yearly Meeting, 1726.

The meeting then appointed a committee to continue the efforts. If there seemed any hope they were continued, month by month, or a new one appointed. In some instances the same name again appeared in a little time in a responsible position,—overseer or minister,*—showing how completely he had rehabilitated himself. Such a retention was always preceded by a written acknowledgment of error and sorrow, which, if accepted as sincere, was read in public in the home meeting on "First-day." Perhaps in a greater number of cases the offender was considered irreclaimable, and "to clear the Truth and Friends from reproach," a committee would be appointed "to draw up a testimony against him and produce it to next meeting." At the next meeting the testimony which separated him from membership would be read and approved, and another committee appointed "to read it at —— meeting on a First-day."

This course of discipline preserved to a remarkable extent the business and moral standing of the Society. By reforming some delinquents and excluding the others, a body was pre-

* Michener's "Retrospect of Early Quakerism," page 324.

served in substantial harmony with the original ideals. It had the additional effect of enabling Friends to face squarely and honestly every moral reform as it arose. They did not blind themselves to the evils of slavery, or injustice to the Indians, or war, or intemperance by any specious pleas of Biblical authority or financial or national expediency. They saw the evil only, and struck it straight in the face. Forbearing to the last degree with offenders, they admitted of no compromise with any system involving wrong to humanity. The history of the growth of the anti-slavery sentiment has been often told, but so far as it concerns our Pennsylvania Friends, it may be repeated as an illustration of the effective way in which they cleared themselves by their admirable discipline of the evil before they launched their corporate testimony against an hostile nation.

The earliest minutes contain cautions against abuse of slaves, and advice to see that they be treated as human beings. In 1688, the German Quakers of Germantown memorialized the Yearly Meeting in a paper still in existence against "the buying and keeping of negroes." The meeting was not ready to act, but the movement was working its way among the sensitive

consciences of the members. In 1696 they advised against "bringing in any more negroes." Chester Quarterly Meeting sent in numerous memorials requesting positive action, but many wealthy Friends were slaveholders, and many saw no evil in the established system, no doubt leniently interpreted among them, and save general exhortation against slave-*dealing*, the Yearly Meeting could not be brought to a definite position till 1758. That year saw two memorable minutes adopted with substantial unanimity; one required Friends to give up all civil offices in which "they think they must enjoin the compliance of their brethren or others with any act which they conscientiously scruple to perform" (meaning especially places in the Assembly); the other went to the root of the matter of slavery, and not content with a declaration against dealing in slaves, as some urged, declared that Friends were "to set them at liberty, making a Christian provision for them," and appointed a committee to visit all slaveholders to induce compliance. They were largely successful, aided as they were by sympathizing Friends in the various meetings. But a considerable number held out, and in 1774 sentiment was so advanced as to call out a more emphatic con-

demnation of all slave-holding. In 1776 a declaration of independence for all slaves held by Friends was decreed, and monthly meetings were directed, after proper effort, to exclude from membership all Quakers who refused to comply. How faithfully yet how tenderly the work was done, while the Revolutionary War raged around them, the records of 1776 and 1777 in nearly every meeting testify.

But the Quaker sense of right was not yet satisfied. In 1779 the Yearly Meeting concluded that something was owing to the slaves for their past services. "The state of the oppressed people who have been held by any of us in captivity and slavery calls for a deep inquiry and close examination how far we are clear of withholding from them what under such an exercise may open to view as their just right." The matter was placed on the basis of justice, not of charity, and many former owners voluntarily paid an amount, adjudged by impartial umpires to be fair, as the recompense for unrequited labors.

Not only did the meetings relieve the State of a large part of its criminal procedures, but they also agreed to succor all, among their own members, in poverty and suffering. Much of

this was done quietly, but many cases came to the meetings and are on record.* Sometimes money was raised, at others personal attention was directed, and as there were no hospitals, Friends' houses and lands were used.†

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* "Ordered that Caleb Pusey and Walter Faucett take care to hire a cow for the widow Rudman, and the quarterly meeting are obliged to answer them 30s."—Chester Monthly Meeting, 6, III., 1689.

"The condition of J. C., a Friend of Bucks County, being laid before this meeting, having lost by fire to the value of 162 pounds, this meeting orders that a collection be settled in each particular First Day's meeting, and two appointed to receive them."—Ibid., 2, IX., 1691. The practice of First-day collections for special cases was general in those days.

† "This meeting having taken into consideration the condition of T. N., he being generally weak and having a great family of small children, and living very remote from neighbors, it is agreed that he is to remove for the reasons aforesaid, and settle down upon the lands of B. C., Jr., having given his consent."—Ibid., 6, XII., 1692.

"J. P., being in necessity of a cow, having lost one, and being in necessity of milk for his children, this meeting have lent him £5 for one year to buy one."—Concord Monthly Meeting, 1699.

"Information being given this meeting that W. P. is very poor and in necessity, this meeting orders ——— to get a good pair of leather 'briches' and a good warm coat and waistcoat, one pair of stockings and shoes, and make

Nor did cases near at hand and of their own Society alone demand their attention, but we find collections taken up for captives among the Turks as early as 1691, when many of the donors had just reached the country.*

The ideas of these Pennsylvania Quakers on the subject of education were not very exalted. Among those who came over from England there were, besides Penn, several university men of high attainments, like Thomas Lloyd and James Logan. The great majority were common people very ordinarily educated, and they did not set any great value on the higher training. They did not, as did the New England settlers, have a college in the first score of years, because they lacked the incentive which most strongly influenced the Puritans. According to them the ministry did not depend on education, and in the minds of many of them, it was no better, perhaps worse, for its presence. Then

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a report of the charge to next meeting."—Falls Monthly Meeting, 1701.

"Our preparative meeting have agreed with A. F. to keep N. M. one year with sufficient meat, drink, washing, shaving, and leading him to meetings for £15, 10s."—Wilmington Monthly Meeting.

* Chester Quarterly Meeting, 1, XII., 1691.

the classic languages were heathen, the modern tongues frivolous. They had no place for art or music. The range of possible education was therefore greatly restricted. The number of self-educated mathematicians and naturalists (chiefly botanists) who grew up among them was rather remarkable. But aside from this the education of those born in this country in the second and third generations was limited in scope and amount. There were no colleges except Harvard and Yale, and they were distant and alien. The medical was the only profession demanding much training, and except in this one field, there was but little high culture among them. It was not till 1856 that the first Quaker college was in operation.

What they lacked in the higher education they made up in the lower. As with crime and pauperism, they took the elementary training of their children in their own special care. Penn well knew the value of education. In his letter of instructions to his wife he wrote about his children : " For their learning be liberal. Spare no cost; for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved." In the first Laws of the Province we find, " To the end that the poor as well as the

rich may be instructed in good and commendable learning, which is to be preferred before wealth, —Be it enacted that all persons . . . . having children . . . . shall cause such to be instructed in reading and writing, so that they may be able to read the Scriptures and to write by the time they attain to twelve years of age, and that then they be taught some useful trade or skill." Then follows a penalty of £5 for failure to secure this attainment. In 1683 the Governor and Council employed Enoch Flower on the following terms: "To learne to read English 4s. by ye Quarter, to learne to read and write 6s. by ye Quarter, write and cast accots 8s. by ye Quarter; for boarding a scholar, that is to say, dyet, washing, lodging and Scooling, Tenn pounds for one whole year."*

In 1697 was chartered the "Public School," intended to be a Latin school of considerable advancement after the fashion of an English grammar school, which now exists under the name of the "William Penn Charter School." There were a number of branches over the city, and free scholarships were established to give the

* Colonial Records, Vol. I., page 36.

poor a fair chance to secure its advantages.* In the same year the Yearly Meeting says : "Meetings for the education of youth are settled in most counties except Bucks, Shrewsbury (N.J.), and Salem (N. J.).

Advices began to go down to the subordinate meetings, the burden of which was that Friends should see to it that all children should be taught "to read and write and some further useful learning," † and that teachers should also be "careful in the wisdom of God and a spirit of meekness gradually to bring them to a knowledge of their duty to God and one another." ‡

These schools were not free schools, but the idea of mutual aid extended to education as well as to bodily distress, and probably nearly all

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* "They (Quakers) have endowed a school with 80 pounds per annum, which is in effect to blast my endeavors."—J. Arrowsmith, March 26th, 1698. "Papers Relating to the American Church, Pennsylvania," page 7.

"They are establishing a free school for the growth of Quakerism and apostacy."—Robert Suder, November 20th, 1698. Ibid., page 11.

† "Our greatest want is a schoolmaster to instruct our children and youth, which we are obliged to see corrupted with the base principles they must needs suck in from Quaker masters and mistresses."—"Ministry and Vestry of Chester, alias Uplands, 1704." Ibid., page 23.

‡ Yearly Meeting, 1746.

children received this elementary opportunity. It became a matter of comment that Quakers were the best educated people of the counties. It was as rare to find an entirely ignorant member as a poverty-stricken one. A number of private academies gave the well-to-do a better chance, and as a result the average mental development was not low. But it was a great loss to them and their successors that there were not, as in New England, a few highly educated men in each community to stimulate the intellectual life, and university opportunities to satisfy it.

But though without this advantage, a moral poise and a tenderness of spirit preserved them from some Puritan delusions. They never persecuted. There was only one trial for witchcraft in the colony. In 1683 a poor woman had the usual accusations of bewitching cattle brought against her. She was tried by jury, the evidence soberly sifted, its absurdity proven, and the jury brought in the verdict, "Guilty of having the common fame of a witch, but not guilty in manner and forme as she stands indicted."* No other witch got so far as to court. Nine

* Colonial Records, Vol. I., pages 40-41.

years later they were hanging them in Massachusetts.

There is a long minute of instructions among the records of Chester Quarterly Meeting in 1695 against those "who, professing astrology, have undertaken thereby to give answers and astrological judgments concerning persons and things, to the dishonor of God and the reproach of the Truth," also against "rhabdomancy, or consulting with a staff." Those who used them were required to bring all books into the Monthly Meetings or take the penalty of having "testimony given against them." Several were thus put through the disciplinary process,* and sorcery disappeared.

Another contrast to New England was the absence of any hierarchy. It often happened that ministers and men prominent in the meeting were also members of the Council or Assembly, or held judicial stations, but the connection was only accidental. In no meeting record, so far as a somewhat careful examination has revealed,

* J. T. offered an acknowledgment "for going to a man to be informed concerning my horse. I can truly say I had no desire he should use any bad art in the affair. Likewise was ignorant of Friends' rules; but hope not to fall into the like again."—Concord Monthly Meeting, 1738.

was there ever any attempt to influence legislation for any political purpose. Whenever the laws touched the consciences of the members, the old English spirit instantly revived, and advices were given, not to go into politics as reformers, but to suffer as martyrs rather than bring "reproach upon Truth." Indeed there seemed evidences under the surface, but becoming more open near the middle of the eighteenth century, of a breach between those who ruled the policy of the meetings and those who were honored by their constituents with public office. A sentiment was growing up that the activities of public life were unfavorable to that introversion of thought and quietness of spirit necessary for the highest development of spiritual life. A touch of asceticism was revealed in the characters of the men whose voices had most "weight" in the yearly assemblies. These had no presiding officer, and took no votes. The clerk recorded the evident judgment of the meeting, (every adult member being permitted to be present), after a temperate and quiet discussion, carried on, as they believed, under the immediate guidance of a Divine Power. In such a discussion the subdued and infrequent words of a man known to be living in close communion with

God, and evidently speaking under a conviction of duty, outweighed the most learned or eloquent speech of a secular orator. Not eloquence, not education, not business success or worldly wisdom availed against a simple, sincere utterance of unreasoned, but not necessarily unreasonable, conviction. The contrast between the qualities of the Quaker ecclesiastic and the politician would inevitably draw different temperaments into the different stations. Some, like William Penn, might combine the two, but in many cases a line would be drawn growing more and more definite as the century advanced. Ultimately the ecclesiastical Quaker triumphed over the political, and the body settled down into a growing conviction that for them obedience to righteous laws and passive resistance to unrighteous ones constituted the burden of a Friend's duty to the government.

Such was in imperfect outline the character of the sect into whose hands the government of Pennsylvania was committed. There were in Philadelphia a number of men successful in commerce or professions whose families were better educated and who did not live such simple lives as their country brethren. It was the latter, however, by virtue of numbers and probably, also, of

spiritual power, which set their stamp upon Quakerism, and which deserve to be taken as the prevailing type. They were earnest men of quiet but strong convictions. Absolutely uncompromising in matters of principle they, perhaps, made the mistake occasionally of exalting custom to the level of principle. They knew very definitely what they believed, though they admitted no creed but the Bible, and asked no one to sign any articles. Quakerism was to them a life, not a set of beliefs. They required spiritual enduement as well as convincement as a qualification for reception into membership, still more for official station. Of infinite tenderness and forgiveness toward offenders, they refused all implication with sin. They demanded righteousness as sternly as the Old Testament and charity as perennial as the New. They possessed large ideas,—universal peace, civil and religious liberty, the embodiment in society of the Sermon on the Mount,—but many of them held these in rather a small way. Beaten into them by English persecution were the testimonies of the seventeenth century Friends, and in some respects they failed to make the necessary eighteenth century adjustment, but their sincerity destroyed hypocrisy, and the

sweetness of their lives exterminated bitterness. That which prevailed in meetings was honest simplicity and consistent integrity.

Their ruling power in relation to government was their conscience divinely instructed. This called for obedience, for reverence, for submission. They were thus the most peace-loving and peaceable of subjects, restraining themselves and their froward brethren; insisting on the full performance of all governmental duties;* but back of this it was perfectly known that legislation offensive to their convictions would be met by a resistance absolutely invulnerable, requiring more bravery than an open armed fight, and entirely sufficient in itself in time to conquer the offending legislation.

Political life was to them not an absorbing

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* "That inasmuch as some amongst us have refused to pay their respective Levies in this county to the support of Government and County charges, this meeting having taken the same into their serious consideration, do conclude as followeth: That whereas we have been always ready and willing to assist and support civil government, do order that all be advised not to refuse the paying of any Levy lawfully demanded, and if any person be heady and stubborn, and not take advise by the Brethren, let them be speedily dealt with according to Gospel order, that so our holy profession may be quit of them and Truth kept clear." —Chester Quarterly Meeting, 3, VI., 1702.

question. They had their duty to perform in Pennsylvania and they meant to do it, but around all such questions flowed the higher life they desired to live, which found expression in their calm meditation, their communion with their brethren and their God, at home and in meeting, their quiet but active furtherance of moral reforms. They did not care for government, most of them did not need any; they wanted to lead unambitious lives of attention to domestic and religious duty. They prospered in business. The great, homelike houses and capacious barns of the Quaker counties are sufficient evidence of this. Their religion cost nothing of consequence, and it is possible their liberality did not always grow with their sense of justice and other virtues.

Their assemblymen did not ask their support. They asked their best equipped men to go to the Assembly and kept them there for years,—thirty, in two cases at least. These men truly represented their constituencies, their strength and their weakness, their inextinguishable courage to do the right, their inability in some cases to see right in more than one way. They carried on during their ascendency the government of a

colony not inferior to any other in substantial freedom, peace and prosperity.*

* "And now, Dear Friends and Brethren, we recommend to you Peace and concord as the great fruits of charity, without which we are nothing; and that we labour to approve ourselves men of peace and makers of peace; which is our ornament, duty and ensign, as the disciples of Jesus. But if any be otherwise the churches of Christ have no such custom, nor can they therein be countenanced or suffered; but so it is to the grief of our hearts, and scandal of our profession, that some laying claim to the same (in divers provinces within the verge of this meeting) have been too factious and troublesome in the governments under which they ought peaceably to live; and have by their seditious words, insinuations and practices disquieted the minds of others, to the making of parties and disturbances; and some under the fair colours of law and privileges have promoted their sinister ends; when indeed it was but to take vengeance against those whom they had taken disgust against. And this we cannot but declare our just abhorrence of: that any should sacrifice the peace of the province to private revenge; warn all to beware of such; and wherever they find them, forthwith to deal with them, and to acquit our holy profession of them in a Gospel way. For by God's help, we have now for many years approved ourselves peaceable subjects to them whom God by his providence hath set over us: first, to the King as supreme, and next, to those in authority under him; being subject, not for wrath, but conscience. But when at any time it hath pleased God to suffer the rulers that hath been over us to impose anything against our allegiance to God, we have patiently suffered under them till the Lord hath been pleased to open their understandings and mollify their hearts towards us; and this we also recommend to be continued amongst us."—Yearly Meeting, 1701.

CHAPTER IV.

DEMOCRACY AND CIVIL LIBERTY.

Such a people would have had a government which would adequately express their beliefs and habits. It could not fail to be democratic, for equality was deeply ingrained in their religious doctrines; on its penal side it could not fail to be reformatory, for reformation was the characteristic of all their churchly efforts in dealing with offenders; it could not fail to demand individual rights to the full, for they had ever claimed for themselves the largest individual freedom. It mattered therefore comparatively little what William Penn's personal views were. The people who emigrated to Pennsylvania through his influence would sooner or later have moulded the State into the form it finally assumed. That it was done so quickly and effectually is, however, largely due to his substantial agreement and sympathy with his co-religionists. He held their views, and had suffered their sufferings, but unlike most of them he had a tolerably clear conception of the means to be used to achieve the results desired by all. He had experience

and leisure and education and access to authorities, and a large list of friends with whom to advise. He was, therefore, a fair representative of his people, and his Frames of Government largely expressed their convictions and temper. The colonists accepted all the liberty he gave them, but, as it seemed to him rather ungenerously, demanded more. His paternal assumptions, which were accepted in his gracious and forceful presence, could not in his absence or in the hands of his heirs become permanent. The friction engendered by them was evidently a source of surprise and disappointment to him. That the peaceable and long-suffering Friends should quickly become staunch and well-organized supporters of popular rights, finding leaders of their own not entirely in sympathy with him, was an unwelcome and unexpected discovery. Yet it was in reality only a development of his own expressed ideas, a corollary of the principles he had so frequently and so forcibly enumerated. "For the matters of liberty and privilege I propose that which is extraordinary, and to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief; so that the will of one man may not hinder the good of the whole country," he wrote in 1681, and the province accepted the

grant as fully as it was offered. Had the colonists of Pennsylvania been thrown together without previous arrangements, a government in harmony with the Quaker mind, free and democratic, shorn of the proprietary idea, concentrating the power in the popularly elected Assembly would have been the inevitable result.

It is not unlikely that the reaction from the restrictions of England carried the democratic party too far in its opposition to what little power the Proprietary hoped to preserve out of the advancing flood of popular privileges. The people, mostly farmers, underlings at home, now found themselves in a situation to secure all and more than all they had ever hoped for. "This people think privileges their due, and all that can be grasped to be their native right . . . . Some people's brains are as soon intoxicated with power as the natives are with their beloved liquor, and as little to be trusted with it,"* Logan writes in 1704. But Logan was never democratic in his tendencies, was violent in his statements, and just at this time was in the heat of partisan conflict. The life of Penn was greatly embittered by what he considered the in-

* Penn and Logan Correspondence, I., page 299.

gratitude of his people. After being most liberal in his concessions their repeated demands for more seemed to him to indicate "an excess of vanity that is apt to creep in upon the people in power in America, who, having got out of the crowd in which they were lost here, upon every little eminency there think nothing taller than themselves but the trees." He suggests that those in office should be brought occasionally to London "that they might lose themselves again amongst the crowds of so much more considerable people."* But this has been the charge urged against Americans in all ages since then. Whether the climate or the distance from established institutions has been the cause, the Pennsylvanians displayed very early the qualities which have made America free and vigorous, as well as sometimes self-assertive and irreverent. It was a pleasing sentiment that William Penn and his family should live as gracious and kindly feudal lords, dispensing the blessings of religious and civil liberty upon willing and trusting freemen, but it was opposed to the spirit of the age and of the race and could not be. The great goodness and liberality of the Proprietor, his

* Penn and Logan Correspondence, I., page 374.

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misfortunes from the hands of those he trusted most, his evident desire to have his Province happy and prosperous and his perfect willingness to make any reasonable sacrifice in order to make it so cause our sympathies to go out to him in his differences with an ungrateful people. In one sense a sadder life than his we seldom know. His letters again and again, sometimes pathetic,* sometimes indignant, portray the keen disappointment of an honest, conscientious and sensitive soul. There was undoubtedly provocation. Demagogues then, as always, led the people

* "O Pennsylvania! what hast thou cost me! Above £30,000 more than I ever got by it, two hazardous and most fatiguing voyages, my straits and slavery here, and my child's soul almost."—Penn and Logan Correspondence, I., page 280.

"I have cause to believe that had he (Logan) been as much in opposition, as he has been understood to stand for me, he might have met with milder treatment from his persecutors, and to think that any man should be the more exposed there on my account, and instead of finding favor, meet with enmity, for his being engaged in my service, is a melancholy consideration. In short, when I reflect upon all these heads of which I have so much cause to complain, and at the same time think of the hardships, I and my suffering family have been reduced to, in no small measure owing to my endeavors for, and disappointments from that province, I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion dealt to me from those of whom I had reason to expect much better and different things."—Proud, "History of Pennsylvania."

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astray. Sordid men refused grants which every consideration of fairness, to say nothing of gratitude, should have caused them to make. But underneath it all was the demand of the age for liberty, a demand expressing itself oftentimes unwisely and ungraciously, but leading on the people to the inevitable goal of perfect democracy.

Penn himself was an enthusiast for liberty. So far from desiring reservations of power for himself he spread abroad among the people the principles of the advanced republicanism of his day. In 1687 he published in Philadelphia for local circulation a copy of Magna Charta, with introduction and comments evidently intended to give his colonists a knowledge of their liberties and to incite them to demand them.* The treatise also contains "A Confirmation of the Charters of the Liberties of England and of the Forest made Anno XXV. Edward I.; the sentence of the Clergy against the Breakers of

* There is only one copy of this issue known to exist. This is in possession of "The Friends' Meeting for Sufferings" at 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia. A handsome edition of 155 copies has been published (1897) by the Philobiblion Club of Philadelphia. William Penn's name does not appear, but David Lloyd in 1728 refers to it as Penn's production.

these Articles; the sentence or curse given by the Bishops against the Breakers of the Great Charter; a statute made Anno XXXIV. Edward I., commonly called De Tallagio non Concedendo," an abstract of Penn's patent, and a copy of The Frame of Government.

It could hardly be doubted that the man who made the eloquent and effective defence, with William Mead, of himself and the jury that acquitted him, in 1670, understood and appreciated the full meaning of civil liberty. His views did not change when from being a prisoner he became the ruler of a province. Nothing could be more eloquent than his address "To the Reader" of his book of 1687.

It may reasonably be supposed that we shall find in this part of the world many men, both old and young, that are strangers in a great measure to the true understanding of that inestimable inheritance that every free-born subject of England is heir unto by birthright, I mean that unparalleled privilege of Liberty and Property beyond all the nations in the world beside; and it is to be wished that all men did rightly understand their own happiness therein; in pursuance of which I do here present thee with that ancient garland, the Fundamental Laws of England, bedecked with many precious privileges of Liberty and Property, by which every man that is a subject to the Crown of England, may understand what is his right and how to preserve it from unjust and unreasonable men; whereby appears the eminent care and wisdom and industry of our progenitors in providing for themselves and posterity so good a fortress that is able to repel

the lust, pride and power of the noble as well as the ignorance of the ignoble ; it being that excellent and discreet balance that gives every man his even proportion, which cannot be taken from him, nor be dispossessed of his life, liberty or estate, but by the trial and judgment of twelve of his equals, or Law of the Land, upon the penalty of the bitter curses of the whole people : so great was the zeal of our predecessors for the preservation of these fundamental liberties (contained in these charters) from encroachment, that they employed all their policy and religious obligations to secure them entire and inviolable, albeit the contrary hath often been endeavored, yet Providence hitherto hath preserved them as a blessing to the English subjects.

The chief end of the publication hereof is for the information and understanding (what is their native right and inheritance) of such who may not have leisure from their plantations to read large volumes ; and beside I know this country is not furnished with law books, and this being the sort from whence all our wholesome English laws spring, and indeed the line by which they must be squared, I have ventured to make it public, hoping it may be of use and service to many freemen planters and inhabitants of this country, to whom it is sent and recommended, wishing it may raise up noble resolutions in all the freeholders in these new colonies not to give away anything of Liberty and Property that at present they do (or of right as loyal subjects ought to) enjoy, but take up the good example of our ancestors, and understand that it is easy to part with or give away great privileges, but hard to be gained if once lost. And therefore all depends upon our kindest care and actings to preserve and lay sure foundations for ourselves and the posterity of our loins. —"*Philopolites.*"

Could William Penn have lived a century longer he would not have seen the exact State of his imagination, but he would have recognized

the great impetus given to the cause of human liberty by his well meant and in the main wise efforts. Reformers never get what they work for just as they expect it.

Pennsylvania became the most consistently free colony in the country, the most consistently prosperous, the most rapid in its growth in freedom and prosperity. So nearly had the inhabitants everything they could desire that they hesitated to take up the Revolutionary cause in 1775. Their charter, their traditions, their thoughts were all free, and they were slow to understand the fervor of New England and Virginia.*

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* The glowing words of Andrew Hamilton, when giving up his place as Speaker of the Assembly in 1739, were undoubtedly true:

"It is not to the fertility of our soil or the commodiousness of our rivers that we ought chiefly to attribute the great progress this province has made within so small a compass of years in improvements, wealth, trade, and navigation, and the extraordinary increase of people who have been drawn from every country in Europe; it is all due to the excellency of our Constitution. Our foreign trade and shipping are free from all imposts except those small duties payable to his Majesty by the statute laws of Great Britain. The taxes are inconsiderable, for the sole power of raising and disposing of public money is lodged in the Assembly. . . . By many years' experience we find that an equality among religious societies, without distin-

By the charter of Charles II. William Penn was made absolute proprietor of Pennsylvania and was authorized, with the assent of the freemen or their representatives, to make all laws not inconsistent with those of England and to appoint judges and other officers. In cases of emergency he might be absolute lawmaker without calling together the legislative body. There was to be an appeal allowed to England at the expiration of five years after the passage of any law, and the Crown thus reserved the power of veto on all Pennsylvania enactments.

Armed with these powers and limitations he went to work at constitution-making. The various trials may be seen among the "Penn MSS." in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Anyone having the time and patience to follow out the efforts of the author in the mass of old writings, with their erasures and interlinear and marginal corrections, might probably trace the steps through which the final Frame of

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guishing one sect with greater privileges than another is the most effective method to discourage hypocrisy, promote the practise of moral virtues, and prevent the plagues and mischiefs which always attend religious squabbling. This is our Constitution, and this Constitution was framed by the wisdom of Mr. Penn."

Government was perfected. Evidently more than one hand and brain wrought for the establishment of the new State. The papers have neither date nor name, and it is difficult to tell whether they are products of different original drafts, or the same draft modified by different advisers. It is probable that Algernon Sidney aided Penn in the work. In proof of this we have the fact that Penn interested himself vigorously in furthering Sidney's election to Parliament, and had a high estimate of his character and political views. He says, in a letter to him, after referring to "the discourse we had together at my house about me drawing constitutions," . . . . "I took my pen and immediately altered the terms so as they corresponded with thy objection and sense. Upon which thou didst draw a draft, as to the Frame of Government, gave it to me to read, and we discourst with considerable argument." Benjamin Furly, a Friend of considerable influence in Holland, is known to have criticized the final "Frame," and it would have been well had his corrections been adopted in advance, as the logic of events required most of them to be finally. Others of Penn's co-religionists, and some intending immigrants, were also

consulted, and the result is the jumble now to be seen in the records of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It interests us only for our present purpose to know that William Penn adhered, through all the changes of detail, to the fundamental purpose expressed by him in 1676 in relation to West Jersey affairs: "We lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians, that they may not be brought in bondage but by their own consent: for we put the power in the people."

Out of this mass of suggestions arose Penn's "Fundamental Constitutions"—being twenty-four clauses embracing his general ideas of government,—*one* constitution, as we would express it. This was not adopted exactly as promulgated. Other influences were afterwards brought to bear, and changes were made which did not improve the plan. The original is among the Penn MSS. and has only recently been published.* It is interesting as probably being the nearest approximation possible to Penn's ideas of government. What he wanted was "the frame of government that shall best preserve Magistracy in reverence with the people and best keep it from being hurtful to them." He cast aside

* "Pennsylvania Magazine," October, 1896.

everything which would not conduce to the general peace and prosperity. "For it were a most condemnable superstition to perpetuate anything for being ancient or domestick that were not otherwise useful." In the forefront of his "Constitutions" he places the right of every one to worship according to his conscience and pledges himself to secure it. He further declares it a fundamental that an Assembly having the privileges of an English House of Commons be elected yearly, which shall meet whether called by the governor or not. For the purposes of election there shall be small districts, each one sending two men to the Assembly. These shall bring with them the written instructions of their electors, and if they are violated the Assemblyman shall be ineligible "unless the people, sensible of his repentance, shall forgive and choose him." They shall be required, moreover, to secure the approbation of their electors to each law or appropriation during the session of the Assembly, "that they may always remember they are but deputies." The Assembly might contain three hundred and eighty-four members, and had the power to select forty-eight Councilmen out of their own number as a permanent board and upper house of legislature,

with co-ordinate powers. During the sessions of the Assembly this Council shall consult with the larger body in order to send a law to the Governor. The Council has also executive duties. The Governor can veto laws within fourteen days of their presentation. Primogeniture shall be abolished except that in deference to the Jewish law the oldest son may receive double the share of each of the others. Imprisonment for debt for small sums shall be abolished, and for large ones when the debtor is not worth ten pounds. Capital punishment for felony shall be abolished. Affirmations shall be substituted for oaths. The law of Habeas Corpus shall be observed. There shall be no tavern or ale houses, and horse racing, bull and bear baiting and games of cards and dice shall be prohibited. All children,—girls and boys,—shall be taught useful trades. For each local office two names shall be chosen by the electors, and the Governor shall appoint one of the two. If he fail to do so, the one first named shall hold the office.

This is a remarkable Constitution for the year 1681. It anticipates by two centuries in some respects the best ideas of the most advanced republics. There could not well be anything more democratic than the Assembly. The initiative

and the referendum are both here. The prohibitionist will find there his plan for suppressing saloons. Nothing of vital consequence now in our American Constitution relating to individual liberty and the rights of popular assemblies is denied except the privilege of passing laws over the Governor's veto.

It would have saved some friction had these "Constitutions" stood. But Penn must have a colony before he could legislate for it, and we may well imagine that it was an uppermost subject with him to induce the right sort of men to emigrate in large numbers. As he truly said, "Let men be good and the government cannot be bad. If it be ill they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be ever so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their turn."* It is therefore probable that in order to conciliate large land purchasers he gave the Council, his upper house, in his final draft the sole power to originate laws—the Assembly being authorized only to pass on such laws as were presented to it. It was supposed that the largest property holders would constitute the Council, and he exalted it at the expense, not only of the

* Preface to the Frame of Government.

Assembly but of the Governor and Proprietor as well, for he gave up the right of veto and only retained three votes in a council of seventy-two members.

Neither of these provisions could become permanent. The people immediately demanded full legislative rights for the Assembly, and after 1693 practically excluded the Council from any law-making powers. In 1701 it became an advisory board for the Governor, appointed by the Proprietor. Both people and Proprietor saw that the latter official or his representative would be powerless without the veto, and restored it in 1696. But the willingness of William Penn to give up power and privilege does credit to his generosity, if not always to his judgment.

The Assembly of the first year was to consist of all the freemen of the province, afterwards of two hundred members. But here again the desire for a pure democracy had outgrown the bounds of reason. The freemen would not come together. They were too busy. Nor could the sparse population support two hundred Assemblymen. Finally thirty-six became the maximum number, and so it remained through the Colonial period.

The " Frame of Government " and the " Laws

agreed upon in England" were the final products of all Penn's best thinking and conferences, and were brought with him to the Colony in 1682. Though changed in form many times they shaped all future Constitutions of Pennsylvania, of other States and of the Federal Union.*

This Frame was modified in 1683 to correct some glaring inconveniences, again in 1696 in the direction of popular freedom, and in 1701 it assumed the form which it maintained during the Colonial period. It was the Constitution of Pennsylvania until 1776. There seems good reason to believe that Penn preferred the earlier drafts, but that the concentration of the power in the hands of the Assembly was demanded by the democratic aspirations of the people. The Proprietor had said to them in 1700 with the greatest frankness, "Friends, if in the Constitution by charter there be anything that jars, alter it. If you want a law for this or that, prepare it. . . . Study peace and be at unity . . . I desire to see mine not otherwise than in the public's prosperity." The demand of the people for liberty was met by a gracious surrender on the part of

* For an interesting comparison between Locke's Constitution and Penn's see Bancroft's History.

the Proprietor. Himself greatly in advance of the times, he so far honored the principle of government by the people, as repeatedly to yield his own judgment and desires ; so that while they were contending with him and his agents for additional privileges he was himself shielding them to his own pecuniary disadvantage from the attacks of enemies in England who were seeking to deprive them of privileges already granted.

The charter of 1701 which embodied the final triumph of radical democratic principles contained only nine articles. The first grants liberty of conscience to all who " Confess and acknowledge Almighty God," and grants to all who profess to believe in Jesus Christ the right to hold executive and legislative offices, by giving a promise of allegiance and fidelity.

The second requires an Assembly to be chosen yearly by the freemen to consist of four persons or more from each county. This Assembly has full powers to choose its officers, to judge of the qualifications of its own members, to adjourn itself, to prepare bills and make laws, impeach criminals and redress grievances, " with all other powers and privileges of an assembly according to the rights of free-born subjects of England."

The third requires the freemen to elect two or three people for each position of sheriff or coroner or other court officers, and the Governor to choose among them. Or if the Governor fails to select, the first named shall serve.

The fourth declares that all laws shall be issued in the form, "By the Governor, with the consent and approbation of the freemen in General Assembly met."

The fifth allows all criminals to have the same privileges of witnesses and counsel as their prosecutors.

The sixth requires that all cases concerning property shall be decided by courts of justice and not by Governor and Council.

The seventh prevents any one receiving a tavern license who is not recommended by the justices, and allows the justices to suppress a disorderly public house.

The eighth prevents the forfeiture of the estates of suicides or intestates ; prohibits any law contrary to this Charter without the consent of the Governor and six-sevenths of the Assembly, and pledges the Proprietor to observe inviolably the first article concerning liberty of conscience.

Lastly the Proprietor binds himself and heirs

not to destroy the liberties of the Charter, and declares such actions if attempted to be of no force or effect.

Nothing was said in the Charter about a veto of laws by the Governor except such as is implied in the fourth article. This seems, however, never to have been questioned. When the Proprietor was in the Province his assent was necessary to all laws. When absent the Deputy Governor was also to assent, but he was governed by general proprietary instructions. While excluded from law-making, the Council could exercise a salutary restraint upon both the Assembly and the Governor. It was composed of eight or twelve wise and solid men, and being appointed by the Proprietors largely to safeguard their interests, was out of direct reach of popular clamor. The Deputy Governors were usually instructed to perform no act without its consent. This gave it a valuable conservative place in government.

" Thus did Penn perfect his government. An executive dependent for its support on the people ; all subordinate elective officers elected by the people ; the judiciary dependent for its existence on the people ; all legislation originating exclusively with the people ; no forts, no armed

force, no militia ; no established church ; no difference of rank ; and a harbor open for the reception of all mankind of every nation, of children of every language and every creed ;— could it be that the invisible power of reason would be able to order and restrain, to punish crime and to protect property ? "*

Before entering upon the development of the principles of democracy and civil liberty in the Province, it will be interesting to know the extent to which the Quakers controlled the government. While William Penn was in his usual health his influence was of course very great. His proprietorship in its relations to the government, to his quit-rents due from lands sold, to his private ownership of vast acres of unoccupied land, as well as his personal character, purity and simplicity of life, the value of his religious ministry, and his great abilities, gave him a commanding influence. He was in the country in active control in 1682-4, and again in 1699-1701. In 1712 he was seized with a stroke of apoplexy, and was unable to do business until 1718, when he died. During this time his affairs were managed with great ability by his

* Bancroft's "History of the United States."

wife, who was, later, his executrix. After her death his sons by his second wife inherited his proprietary interests. They gave up their rights in the Society of Friends, and in general did not sympathize with them. During the latter part of the time covered by this narrative, they were in almost constant opposition to the Quaker elements of the Pennsylvania population. This was more due to the fact of diverse interests, arising from their private ownership of land, than to any denominational cause. The Quaker Assembly was the exponent of the democratic feeling of the country, and was in frequent collision with proprietary instructions and proprietary claims. This opposition may have been strengthened by a feeling of the sons' desertion of a cause with which the father was so prominently identified, but sooner or later feudal interests and popular interests would inevitably clash.

There was only one Deputy Governor who was a Quaker. When Penn returned to England in 1684 the executive responsibility was left with a council of five, of which Thomas Lloyd was President. This Presidency, involving the practical headship of the Province, was retained till 1688, when Captain John Blackwell was ap-

pointed Lieutenant Governor. This arrangement only lasted about a year, and Thomas Lloyd again came into power, as President of the Council, and in 1691 as Deputy Governor. In 1693 Colonel Fletcher was appointed Governor by William III., who had taken the government from Penn, and in 1694 William Markham received the same position from the Proprietor, who had regained his Province. Thomas Lloyd was a minister in the Society of Friends, much loved and trusted by all, though at least one of his acts led to Penn's very severe reprobation.* He was a younger son in a Welsh family of good standing, an Oxford graduate, and a man of retiring disposition, who accepted office with reluctance as a duty and gave it up with glad relief. Finding a number of disorderly characters frequenting the city he would go out at nights and give them religious advice. The combination of Deputy Governor and Quaker preacher was too much for the boisterous spirits,

* "I too mournfully remember how noble a law I had of exports and imports. But Thomas Lloyd, very unhappily for me, my family and himself, complimented some few selfish spirits with the repeal thereof."—Penn to Logan. Penn and Logan Correspondence, II., page 70.

and Philadelphia became under his control the most decorous of cities. He died in 1694, leaving a place which could not be filled by any member of the Society of Friends.* There may, however, have been other reasons why Penn preferred Governors who were not Friends. Orders of a character difficult for a Quaker to execute might at any time come from England.† William Penn had received power in his Charter from Charles II. to train soldiers and to make war. If the King should require warlike measures at the hands of the Governor it was convenient to have a Deputy without any scruples

* Edward Shippen, a Quaker, performed as President of the Council, in 1702-3, the duties of Deputy Governor in an interval between appointments, and James Logan in a similar way in 1736-7.

† The Deputy Governors after Penn's second visit were :

Andrew Hamilton	1701
John Evans	1703
Charles Gookin	1709
William Keith	1717
Patrick Gordon	1726
George Thomas	1738
James Hamilton	1748
Robert Hunter Morris	1754
William Denny	1756
James Hamilton	1759

Edwd: Shippen

of conscience to stand in the way of organizing militia and erecting fortifications.*

During the life time of William Penn the Council was Quaker by a considerable majority. His widow directed the Deputy to appoint at least half the Councillors from the Society.† After her death the Council naturally represented the changed feeling of the heirs, so that the whole executive branch was in certain respects disavowed by Friends. James Logan or his son William, both Friends, retained a place there through nearly all the proprietary régime. In early time many members were ministers.

Nothing more clearly shows the entire break down of the line between ministers and laity than the way they exercised indiscriminately all public offices. Whether Quakers or not, the

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* As an illustration: Under date of 29th of Fifth month, 1702, Logan writes to Penn: "I have not much to advise of more than by the last packet arrived, with orders directed to thee, or the commander-in-chief of this to proclaim a war, which was accordingly done on the 6th day last, the 24th inst."

† "By order nine of twelve of my Council are Quakers, the Magistrates in the same proportion, and the Assembly twenty-three Quakers to three churchmen."—Governor Gookin to Secretary, March 16th, 1716-7. "Papers Relating to the American Church, Pennsylvania," page 109.

Council was composed of men of attainments and character, and the place was one of honor and usefulness, even after all law-making powers were taken from it.

The Quakers, however, revelled in complete possession of the Assembly from 1682 to 1756. The first meeting at Chester in the former year was to have consisted of all the freemen of the Province. But the counties sent up only twelve men each, thirty-six from Pennsylvania and thirty-six from Delaware, asking Penn to accept this as a competent legislature. The Quaker immigration had not set in very largely, and the Swedes and Dutch already in the country, particularly in the lower counties, had a majority of one in the Assembly. The lines seem to have been drawn on Quaker membership, and in choosing a speaker the absence of two of the non-Quaker members alone enabled Friends to organize it.* Af-

* Letter of William Penn to Jasper Yeates, "Pennsylvania Magazine," Vol. VI., page 469. This letter contains many interesting features concerning Penn's attitude towards the government of his colony. Yeates had evidently reproached Penn for securing too much for his own family. Penn calls attention in reply to the fact that he had only three votes in a joint legislature of 272 members, and after telling how near the Quakers were to losing control as

ter this there seems to have been no question of ascendency. Friends were elected not infrequently against their own protests. After the separation of the three lower counties, the Assembly came still more into their hands. In 1755 a militia law is thus prefaced : " Whereas this Province was settled by (and a majority of the Assembly have ever since been) of the people called Quakers, etc." Franklin speaks of them in 1747 as " That wealthy and powerful body of people who have ever since the war governed our elections and filled almost every seat in our Assembly."* They were partly aided in this by a somewhat inequitable division of assemblymen which gave a double representation to the three Quaker counties, Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks. It arose in this way. After 1701 it had been decided to constitute the Assembly of four members from each county, and if ever the lower

stated above, says that many Friends wanted him to take back part of the power he had granted them. But at this date he does not indicate any intention to do it. The pressure probably became stronger later, for in 1683 he accepted the veto power.

*A Church of England clergyman writes: " We can have no expectation of being a parish while seven-eighths of our Assembly are Quakers."—" Papers Relating to the Church in Pennsylvania," page 107.

counties separated their quota should be added to the three Pennsylvania counties then in existence. When new counties were added, they came in on the basis of the original numbers. This was excused by the ideas of property representation then prevalent, and on this basis was not unreasonable. It gave, however, double power to the counties which would naturally choose Quaker representatives. In the country districts of these counties there was a Quaker majority probably up to 1740 or 1750. In Philadelphia city there was never a Quaker majority except possibly for a very few years after 1682. In 1702 it has been estimated that the population of the city was equal to that of the country, and that one-third of the former and two-thirds of the latter were Quakers.* It was about this date, therefore, that they became a minority, and the minority grew smaller by immigration of others with each succeeding year. The estimates of their number in 1756 vary from one-sixth to one-fourth of the total population. The exact numbers will never be known, as no church censuses were ever taken.

* James Logan. Penn-Logan Correspondence, I., page 102.

Though thus in the minority, in 1740 there were only three non-Quaker members of the Assembly,* and in 1755, before they had themselves taken any measures to give up their seats, twenty-eight of the thirty-six members were Friends.† The responsibility for the actions of the Assembly therefore during these years, so far as their religious beliefs affected their duties as legislators, properly belongs to them.

With the exception of the unequal representation, disproportionate as to numbers, among the counties, there is nothing to indicate any improper efforts to retain power in the hands of Friends. Their root principle of denominational equality, never varied from and probably never seriously impeached, would prevent this.‡ They

* "Pennsylvania Magazine," X., page 291.

† Pemberton Papers.

‡ Shepherd, in his "History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania," makes a natural error when he says (foot-note, page 548): "The Quakers even went so far as to make up their party ticket at their yearly religious meetings." Any one familiar with the methods and spirit of a Yearly Meeting would know the impossibility of such an action. The authority for Dr. Shepherd's statement is the following from The Shippen Papers. Edward Shippen writes under date September 19th, 1756: "No ticket is yet

did feel a deep responsibility for the conduct of a state based largely on their principles and in which they had been the leading denomination from the start. The principles were on trial. It was an experiment, a "holy" one perhaps, but more than this was not claimed. It would be cowardly to yield their places to the clamor of enemies at home and in England, so long as in honest elections and by honorable methods they were legitimately chosen to places of power. There were among them ambitious and designing men who made the most of their opportunities to advance their personal influence. But if there are any adequate proofs of public immorality or personal aggrandizement of a serious character, or unrighteous expedients to perpetuate church control or to establish a religion by state aid, or as a church to retain political ascendency, they have escaped a tolerably careful scrutiny of

settled for this county (Philadelphia), nor can any be until the result of the Yearly Meeting at Burlington is known." At first sight this seems to confirm the statement. The facts are, as will be seen in a succeeding chapter, that both London and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings were about to make strenuous efforts to prevent any Friend taking a seat in the Assembly, and several possible candidates refused to offer themselves till the action of the Yearly Meeting should be known.

public and meeting records. Until 1756 they probably voted for their own members, but the election turned very largely on the German vote, which from similarity of religious and political views naturally went to them, while the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of the frontiers and the Episcopalians of the city of Philadelphia supported the Proprietary party of the later days. The Quakers were never outvoted so long as they consented to be candidates.

How the parties in those days selected their candidates, what substitute they had for the modern caucus, and what machinery they used to make their leadership effective, may not be known. The Quakers seem to have become efficient politicians. They elected their best men, and kept them continually in office.

Resuming now quite briefly the political history of the country so far as the preservation of civil rights is concerned, we find, as we might expect from the nature of the country whence the immigrants had come, and the age in which they lived, that they had the instincts for freedom, the suspicion of any power but popular power, sufficiently strong and sufficiently close to the surface. For the first twenty years the politics of the country is full of bickerings and

difficulties over not very large matters. When Thomas Lloyd was in power after Penn's first absence, there was some degree of harmony between the executive and the legislature. But Blackwell and Fletcher and Markham each was at the helm at different times, and each was engaged in a struggle with the popular Assembly which ended ingloriously for him. Blackwell, who came in in 1688, was an old soldier, son-in-law to Cromwell's General Lambert, with no tact, but excellent intentions. He meant to rule the country ; he was under the impression that Penn gave him some sort of power, and he undertook in his own wisdom to revise the Council then elected by the people. But Thomas Lloyd, Quaker preacher though he was, proved a most doughty and persistent opponent and effective champion of popular rights, and would not be put out. Samuel Richardson, in words which remind one immediately of the spirit of English Puritanism of the earlier times, refused to own the Governor, and when asked to withdraw while his case was being considered replied, " I will not withdraw. I was not brought hither by thee, and I will not go out by thy order. I was sent by the people, and thou hast no power to put me out."* There was nothing for Blackwell to

*Col. Rec., Vol. I., p. 20.

do but to give up the fight and to ask for a recall. When it came he no doubt sincerely told the Council, "'Tis a good day ; I have given and I do unfeignedly give God thanks for it (which are not vain words), for to say no worse I was very unequally yoked." Thus ended the first attempt to govern a body of Quakers by a soldier.

After this Thomas Lloyd came in again as President of the Council and then Deputy Governor, and harmony reigned for a little time. But the lower counties (the present State of Delaware), connected with the Province but not largely settled by Quakers, did not work harmoniously with the others. George Keith got up a religious schism which developed into a political opposition to the dominant powers. There was a growing party of Churchmen, which afterwards, under the leadership of Colonel Quarry, an officer appointed by the Crown to attend to admiralty cases and hence independent of the provincial government, was entirely out of harmony with Quaker notions on war and oaths, and was striving to discredit the government in England so as to secure the forfeiture of the Charter and the establishment of a Crown colony. The Assembly was rent internally by dissensions in efforts to punish members for disrespect and to gain

power from the Governor and Council, and seemed to justify Logan's complaint that they were intoxicated with the liberty to which they were unused. To crown all William Penn was thrown into prison on the charge of Jacobinism, his government taken from him, and Governor Fletcher of New York appointed to manage the disordered but not turbulent Province.

Thomas Lloyd and many other Friends refused positions under him, acting on Penn's advice "to insist on their patent with wisdom and moderation." The old laws were, however, declared invalid. "These laws and that model of government is dissolved and at an end. * * * The King's power and Mr. Penn's must not come in the scales together." This dispute was long in settling. The Assembly adhered tenaciously to their old privileges, and the nineteen months of Fletcher's rule saw very little done, but nothing lost to the cause of liberty.

Upon the restoration of Penn to liberty and power in 1694, he appointed Markham as his Deputy, and this arrangement lasted until his return to the colony in 1699. Markham held to what he could, but was not able to resist the growing desires of the Assemblymen under the able leadership of David Lloyd. They secured

the charter of 1696, giving them the power of originating, as well as vetoing bills, thus reducing the Council to a co-ordinate rather than a superior body, a reduction still further continued in 1701, when it was shorn of all part in law-making. The need of money by the Governor was a perfect boon to the Assembly, which, English-like, coupled its grant with conditions requiring unwelcome concessions from the proprietary deputy.

An unfortunate ecclesiastical schism was not without its political effects. George Keith had been a doughty defender of Quakerism. He was perhaps the best scholar of his Society, had been associated with Barclay in the preparation of the Apology, and with Fox and Penn in their travels in Holland and Germany. He had proven the sincerity of his convictions by his sufferings, and when, in 1689, he came to Philadelphia as the first Headmaster of the School which is now the William Penn Charter School, it was with the highest reputation for Quaker orthodoxy, as well as linguistic, scientific and philosophical attainments. A change came over his views very soon after this. It is unnecessary to accept any of the reasons given by Quaker historians for this change ; all cannot be correct. The times

were strenuous, and strong language was used on both sides. Political controversy raged fiercely, and some of the tenets advocated were crude and trifling. Keith's charges against his former brethren were the exaltation of the Inward Light at the expense of the historic Christ and the Bible, too great use of outward resistance by magistrates, and the practice of capital punishment. He had many sympathizers, but the Yearly Meeting decided against him, and a separate meeting was the result. The Foxian and the Keithian Quakers became convenient terms of distinction in the writings of the day, and opposed each other in church and state.

Keith appealed to England with similar results. His learning and his preaching made him friends, but the decision, carefully made, was adverse to his claims. After a vain attempt to divide Friends, he joined the Episcopal Church, and spent the rest of his life in refuting the doctrines he had done so much to establish. He never denied his inconsistency. He paid a second visit to America, as the first missionary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and between 1700 and 1704 traveled from Massachusetts to Carolina, setting up churches. He claims to have induced about five hundred peo-

ple in Pennsylvania, mostly Friends, to join the Episcopal Church, and large numbers of Presbyterians in other colonies. His "Christian Quakers" had disappeared as an organized body by 1700, some returning to the fold, more joining the Baptists and Episcopalians.

Politically, they associated themselves sometimes with David Lloyd and the democrats, sometimes with Quarry and the Churchmen; and by the rancor they received and returned, added greatly to the disunion of the time.

Notwithstanding these continuous dissensions among the rulers, petty and great, the country as a whole was peaceful and prosperous. The farmers tilled and cleared their lands, and built up their homes undisturbed; they went to their semi-weekly meetings, and managed their church affairs generally in a sweet spirit of brotherly love. Merchants and traders carried on increasing business, and laid the foundations of considerable fortunes. Immigrants flocked in at a great rate, and found homes and occupations in pleasing contrast to their state in Europe. When Penn landed, in 1699, he found a government somewhat in confusion, from an experiment of tyros not altogether "holy," but a people in the main contented and satisfied, and con-

taining all the elements of liberty and prosperity.

Some of the Philadelphia merchants were making much money by trade. Samuel Carpenter, prominent in the Council and in meeting, had extensive interests in lands, mills and commerce, and was, about 1700, the wealthiest man in the province. Isaac Norris and Edward Shippen—the latter of whom was appointed by Penn as the first Mayor of the city—were also men of large enterprise and resources. Philadelphia had drawn to herself, very early in her history, a large number of energetic and wealthy merchants, and her commerce exceeded that of New York. Her farmers, too, were prosperous and happy.

The following letter, written by a little girl of Bucks County, is an interesting glimpse into rural customs :

The Manor, Bucks County, Pa.,
The 28th of 11th Mo., 1685.

Dear Grandmother :

Mamma has been writing to thee since last Fifth-day, and she told me I could put a sheet into thy letter. We want to get it off on the packet which sails from Philadelphia about the 10th of the Twelfth month.

Our new house is all done. I wish thee could see our big kitchen. It has a fireplace entirely across one end of the room. Papa brings the back log in with the horse, and when the boys pile wood up against it, such a fire as it

SAMUEL CARPENTER.

does make. We have so much wood. Papa says we would be rich if we had this timber in England. I gather chips. We had a nice time roasting chestnuts this fall in the ashes. I have four quarts dried.

The new house is built of logs and all nicely plastered inside. We'll be good and warm this winter. There is room in the fireplace for papa's big chair and mamma's rocker. There is a bench on the other side of the fire for us children. There is a little narrow window near the chimney where the spinning wheel stands. I've learned to bake cakes on the coals. We have a Dutch oven now.

I wish thee could have seen our garden this summer. Besides the rows or sage, camomile, thyme, comfrey and rue, with yarrow and some onions, we have great big love apples. They are almost as large as an apple. They grow on a bushy plant which starts from a seed in the spring. Uncle Henry found them last summer among the Indians, and brought some of the seeds home. Mamma says they are poison if we eat them. They are just pretty to look at.

The men dug a long, winding ditch around the meadow bank this fall. It will carry the water along the side of the meadow so they can let it out to run all over the bank. It keeps the grass very green and pretty.

We have so many horses and cows that are not ours. Papa is Ranger now, and takes up all strays. Thee don't know about this, does thee ? Well, everybody here lets their cows and horses run loose in the woods. Sometimes they don't come back, and it takes a long time to find them. We heard of a little girl this fall who got lost while hunting for the cows. Dark came on and she heard the wolves howling. It was very late when she found the cows all huddled together. Her father found her next morning fast asleep alongside of the bell cow. She was safe and sound. I'm glad I wasn't that little girl.

All the cows here have ear marks. William Penn's cows have this mark. I copied it from papa's book : . . . . It must hurt to have their ears cut.

I also found this in the book. Papa put it in last summer :

" Att the fall of the yeare 1684 there came a long-bodyed bb cow with this eare marke. She was very wild, and being a stranger, after publication, none owning her, James Harrison, att the request of Luke Brindley, the Ranger, wintered her, and upon the twenty-third of the 7th Mo., 1685, the cow was slaughtered and divided, two-thirds to the Governor, and one-third to the Ranger after James Harrison had 60 lbs. of her beef for the wintering of her att j of " (10 shillings sterling).

So thee sees we have plenty of meat. We have 200 shad that were caught last spring and salted. Some of them are very big. The boys were out hunting yesterday and brought in two wild turkeys. We'll have one for dinner on Sixth-day, which is Monthly Meeting, and the other on First-day.

Mamma has school for me every day. She is the teacher and I am the scholars. I am head of my class. Papa says that if I keep on doing that well he will send me to England to school when I get big. Then I'll see thee, grandma, and the dear old place I love so well. There is no more room on the paper, so I must stop.

With lots of kisses and two pats for dear old Rover, I remain thy affectionate granddaughter,

SALLY BRINDLEY.

Penn's presence composed, at least superficially, most of the differences. No one questioned his authority. He was displeased with the too great tendencies to license, as he deemed them, but wisely accepted the inevitable, and granted such changes in fundamental law as were desired. His two years—all too short a time for the work to be done—were full of conferences with the Council and Assembly, of

visits to and from Indian chiefs, of religious services in the numerous meeting houses which were now scattered over the three upper counties. Matters were left in quietness, though for a few years an unfortunate choice of a Deputy Governor delayed the better days.

Three political parties sprang into existence on Penn's departure. There was first the party devoted to proprietary interests and sympathies, embracing the more wealthy and highly educated Quakers, principally of Philadelphia, of which in a little time James Logan came to be recognized as the leader. Secondly, there was the popular party, led by David Lloyd, composed mainly of country Friends, and reinforced in time by sympathetic Germans and other liberty-loving people ; and thirdly, there was an opposition non-Quaker party, not strong in Council or Assembly, whose ultimate object was to make a crown colony and an established church.

James Logan and David Lloyd were such prominent men in early Pennsylvania, that they deserve more than a passing notice.

James Logan was born in Ireland in 1674 of Scotch parents, who were Friends. When William Penn was coming to Pennsylvania, in 1699,

he brought Logan with him as secretary and agent. He held successively the posts of Provincial Secretary, Commissioner of Property, Chief Justice, and, as President of the Council, was for about two years the Governor of the Province. He was an excellent scholar, to his friends an agreeable gentleman, thoroughly faithful to the Proprietor, who in turn placed implicit confidence in his judgment of other men, of great influence in the Council, of which he was almost continuously a member, but not always courteous and condescending to men of smaller abilities and fewer advantages.*

He gave very censorious verdicts of his opponents, calling them "rogues," "composition of vinegar and wormwood," "lurking snake," etc. These were evidently written in the heat of partisan controversy, and unfortunately influenced Penn's mind against some who ought to have been his warmest friends and supporters. No more faithful agent for the proprietor and his widow could have been found, though one could conceive a more judicious one.

In later years he retired to his place at Stenton, and largely gave himself over to literary

* Proud, "History of Pennsylvania," Vol. I., page 478.

work. He wrote several books in Latin, and translated "De Senectute," which was printed by Benjamin Franklin in 1744. He gave to the people a valuable collection of books, now incorporated in the Philadelphia Library.

He was not a very influential member of the Society of Friends in religious matters, partly on account of his views on defensive war ; but his character and attainments were greatly respected.

David Lloyd was a Welshman. He arrived in the colony in 1686, commissioned by Penn as Attorney General. He was an excellent lawyer, exemplary in all the relations of private life, of great force of character and commanding influence. Were it not for the dark colors in which he is painted by Logan, Norris, Proud, and other authorities, we should regard him as a noble fighter for popular rights. He seems, however, to have been of a contentious spirit, and opposed Penn by methods and in words which neither the circumstances could justify, nor good political morality commend. He had probably honesty of purpose in his aims, and in the main a good cause. He was intense, dogmatic, unbending, perhaps politically unscrupulous in his early life ; but later he became softer

and more gracious. He never failed to be the trusted leader to his party so long as he was in the Assembly. The cause to which he gave his great energies and political abilities was the cause of the future, and the net result of his labors was to sustain in the colony strong attachment to the principles we now consider to be fundamentally American. He was a Quaker in good standing, at first living in Philadelphia ; after 1710 in Chester.

It is interesting to note that Logan and Lloyd drew together in later years, working for the good of the State, and that Lloyd joined in an affectionate memorial to Penn after his death.

Penn left his Province in 1701, with Andrew Hamilton as Deputy Governor, and the play of political forces immediately began. The Church party, under Colonel Quarry, small but active, would ally itself for the time with David Lloyd, who, however, was far from sympathizing with it. Their main strength, however, lay in English sympathy.* The malcontents were also

* The feeling between the Churchmen and the Quakers was quite severe.

" I hope your grace being at the helm will be mindful of us at the stern, when Providence shall think to bless us with a qualified government under his royal majesty ; then

with Lloyd. "It is the very leaven of George Keith" (now mostly Episcopalians), "left among the people at his separation, and now fermenting up again,"* writes Logan in 1706. Isaac Norris also says in 1709: "Most of the sticklers in the Assembly are either Keithians or those who stand fast and loose with Friends."†

Christianity will flourish in this Province, Quakerism will be rooted out, and the church will be more than conquerer." July 12th, 1700. "Papers Relating to the Church in Pennsylvania," page 16.

The Episcopalians evidently desired the establishment of a state church, and this deepened the Quaker opposition, political and otherwise. This feeling very much softened towards Revolutionary times, and we find James Pemberton lamenting the growth of the Presbyterians at the expense of the Episcopalians. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, in many respects the Quaker antipodes, were their great political opponents of the pre-Revolutionary days. This culminated in the "Paxton boys" invasion of 1763-4.

Even in early days all the losses of Quakerism went to the Church of England. George Ross writes, under date of August 28, 1716: "But though we and the Quakers do thus differ widely, yet 'tis observable that when any of them do leave their own way and become Christians, they generally make their application to your missionary for baptism, instead of going to the dissenting teachers, who, though ten to one of us, do not count one Quaker to ten that come over to the Church."

* Penn and Logan Correspondence, Vol. II., page 190.

† Penn and Logan Correspondence, Vol. II., page 422.

Governor Hamilton, unfortunately for the Province, died after about a year of administration, and Penn sent over John Evans, a Welshman, "an honest and discreet young man" as he styles him. Penn was wofully deceived, as often happened in his choice of men. He writes most enthusiastically about each new appointment, and after events usually were a strange contradiction to his judgment. Evans, if personally honest, was certainly not discreet. A worse choice could scarcely have been made to govern a colony of strict Quakers. He unnecessarily shocked their anti-martial principles by pressing forward his schemes for colonial defense. He tried to force them into compromising measures by a false report that the French fleet was in the Delaware, and rode through Philadelphia asking all to arm. To this the Quakers responded by quietly attending their mid-week meeting. In company with William Penn, Jr., the degenerate son of the proprietor, he engaged in festivities in the poorer haunts of the city, and in the Indian towns, which shocked the sense of stern morality to which the people's thoughts were attuned. He tried to collect a fine for disrespect from an honest but rather irascible old Quaker minister and Assemblyman,

who cried out: "He is but a boy. We'll kick him out," and won only contempt for his persecution. He persuaded the Delaware authorities to erect a fort and levy a tax on Philadelphia commerce, which was a violation of charter. Three Friends of his own party—Richard Hill, Isaac Norris and Samuel Preston—ran their boat past the fort in spite of the fire, and when the commander pursued, carried him off and landed him at Salem, New Jersey. This broke up the exaction of "powder money." Altogether Evans was a great failure as Governor. Logan did his best to advise his chief, but finally counseled Penn to recall him, as also did the Assembly. It is not to be wondered at that the anti-proprietary party, under Lloyd, ruled the Assembly, and the friends of Penn hung their heads.

In 1704 a remonstrance was sent to the Proprietor, which was the most severe stroke he ever received. It was the work of Lloyd, signed by him as Speaker of the Assembly, and if we are to believe Isaac Norris and James Logan, the signature was effected after adjournment, when he was no longer Speaker, the address was never read to the Assembly, and in order to preserve the appearance of regularity, the minutes were interpolated. That the people had some

ground to complain of the choice of Deputy Governor may well be admitted, but this was quite as much Penn's misfortune as theirs, and was only an error of judgment. That they had just then cause to complain of the hardships the English goverment was putting on them in the matter of oaths, was also true, but Penn was doing all he could to remedy it. The other charges of oppression "about our civil rights by the Proprietary," in various details were too trivial to be so seriously enumerated and intemperately advanced. There was an animus about the paper worse than the complaints, which hurt the goodhearted Proprietor deeply. He had spent his fortune, and was in debt as a result of his Pennsylvania burden. He thought he had given every reasonable concession, more than were enjoyed elsewhere, and if things were wrong he had expected kindly and reasonable co-operation, not bitter, unfriendly and unreasonable attack.

That Friends were to some extent on Lloyd's side in the matter, is evident.* In their minds

* "He carries so fair with our weak country people, and those that long looked upon him to be the champion of Friends' cause in government matters in former times, that there is no possessing them."

Logan to Penn, Correspondence, Vol. II., page 119.

ISAAC NORRIS.

he was the champion of personal liberty, to which the country Friends especially were inordinately attached. But that they still held to Penn is proven by the next election, in 1705, when Lloyd's party was left in a small minority in an Assembly of which all the members were Friends except one.* Lloyd himself got in by

* Even the quiet Friends did not get through this election without reproach. "This meeting, understanding of some disorderly carriage, language and deportment at Chester, the last election, by some professing truth, the meeting appoints ——— to draw something in reprehension thereof, and bring the same to the next Quarterly Meeting."

The next meeting adopted their report. "This meeting understands there have been some persons that make profession of the blessed truth and peaceable spirit of the Lord Jesus with us, but for want of keeping to it in themselves contrary fruits appear, so as to take liberty to speak and act as they please. . . . Some in this county at the last election, where their moderation should have appeared, but other fruits were brought forth, and seditious words and practices, insinuations and turbulent behavior . . . under a fair color of liberty and privilege to promote their sinister ends, to take revenge on those against whom they have taken a disgust. The consideration of these things hath brought a weighty concern upon this meeting that any should sacrifice the peace of the people to a private revenge. This meeting desires all monthly meetings to deal with such, and if they prove stubborn and unruly, and will not be reclaimed, then to acquit our holy profession of them."

Chester Quarterly Meeting, 1706.

the election of the city after being left out by the county, but lost his speakership.

The doings of Evans, however, restored Lloyd's majority for several years following, and the attempted impeachment of Logan on certain charges relating to the tenure of office of the judges, was the result. Logan defended himself vigorously, and finally went to England, where he was triumphantly acquitted a little later, both legally and morally.

The people seemed to be tired of the bickerings of the Assembly, and in 1710 elected a new one, not one old member being returned, and every one friendly to Penn. For the two remaining years of the Proprietor's healthy life matters went smoothly. Evans' successor, Charles Gookin, was a reputable gentleman, of a difficult disposition, and probably insane the latter part of his career. He did not harmonize with the Assembly, nor indeed with his Council, but did not greatly shock the people. David Lloyd was temporarily out of public life, and when he returned it was with a more kindly spirit.

The year 1710 was the beginning of a better time for Pennsylvania. A succession of fairly good Governors ensued. The people settled down under the wise charter of 1701, which

granted all reasonable liberties. Immigration was intensely active. Material prosperity developed at a rapid pace. Questions connected with oaths were somewhat troublesome, and small war clouds caused occasional uneasiness to conscientious Friends, but in the main peace reigned.

Bad as some of Lloyd's methods were, there can be no doubt that they made Pennsylvania a democratic State, tenacious of liberty. A different result would undoubtedly have ensued had the more dignified, but more aristocratic, system of Logan and Norris, and the proprietary party, remained unchallenged in power. Lloyd only voiced a very prevalent feeling which could not be restrained.

The heart of the people had always been with Penn. They believed in his liberality, his sincerity, his wisdom. Had he remained with them as Governor, or sent sympathetic and discreet deputies, there would have been practical unanimity in his support; at least there would have been no permanent opposition party. When his honest and pathetic address came to them in 1710, after his triumphant vindication by the election, every heart responded, and with this we may fitly close the account of the not very har-

monious early period of Pennsylvania legislative history:

London, 29th Fourth month, 1710.

My Old Friends :—It is a mournful consideration, and the cause of deep affliction to me, that I am forced, by the oppressions and disappointments which have fallen to my share in this life, to speak to the people of that Province in a language I once hoped I should never have had occasion to use. But the many troubles and oppositions that I have met with from thence oblige me, in plainness and freedom, to expostulate with you concerning the causes of them.

When it pleased God to open a way for me to settle that colony, I had reason to expect a solid comfort from the services done to many hundreds of people ; and it was no small satisfaction to me that I have not been disappointed in seeing them prosper and growing up to a flourishing country, blessed with liberty, ease and plenty, beyond what many of themselves could expect, and wanting nothing to make them happy but what, with a right temper of mind and prudent conduct, they might give themselves. But, alas ! as to my part, instead of reaping the like advantages, some of the greatest of my troubles have arisen from thence. The many combats I have engaged in, the great pains and incredible expense for your welfare and ease, to the decay of my former estate, of which (however some there would represent it) I too sensibly feel the effects, with the undeserved opposition I have met with from thence, sink me into sorrow that, if not supported by a superior hand, might have overwhelmed me long ago. And I cannot but think it hard measure that, while that has proved a land of freedom and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble and poverty.

For this reason I must desire you all, even of all professions and degrees, (for although all have not been engaged in the measures that have been taken, yet every man

who has interest there is, or must be, concerned in them by their effects)—I must therefore, I say, desire you all, in a serious and true weightiness of mind, to consider what you are or have been doing : why matters must be carried on with these divisions and contentions, and what real causes have been given on my side for that opposition to me, and my interest, which I have met with, as if I were an enemy and not a friend, after all I have done and spent here and there. I am sure I know not of any cause whatsoever. Were I sensible you really wanted anything of me, in the relation between us, that would make you happier, I should readily grant it, if any reasonable man would say it were fit for you to demand, provided you would also take such measures as were fit for me to join with.

Here follows a resumé of the Frame of Government, which he declares he cares nothing about except to promote their good.

The attacks on my reputation, the many indignities put upon me in papers sent over hither into the hands of those who could not be expected to make the most discreet and charitable use of them ; the secret insinuations against my justice, besides the attempt made upon my estate ; resolves passed in the assemblies for turning my quit-rents, never sold by me, to the support of my government ; my lands entered upon without any regular method ; my manors invaded (under pretence I had not duly surveyed them), and both these by persons principally concerned in these attempts against me here ; a right to my overplus land unjustly claimed by the possessors of the tracts in which they are found ; my private estate continually exhausting for the support of the government, both here and there, and no provision made for it by that country.

. . . . . .

In short, when I reflect on all these heads, of which I have so much cause to complain, and, at the same time,

think of the hardships I and my family have been reduced to, in no small measure owing to my endeavors for and disappointments from that Province, I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion, dealt to me from these of whom I had reason to expect much different and better things, nor can I but lament the unhappiness that too many of them are bringing on themselves, who, instead of pursuing the amicable ways of peace, love and unity, which I at first hoped to find in that retirement, are blind to their own interest, are oversetting that foundation on which your happiness might be built.

Friends, the eyes of many are upon you ; the people of many nations of Europe look on that country as a land of ease and quiet, wishing to themselves in vain the same blessings they conceive you may enjoy ; but, to see the use you make of them, is no less the cause of surprise to others, while such bitter complaints and reflections are seen to come from you, of which it is difficult to conceive either the sense or meaning. What are the distresses, grievances and oppressions that the papers sent from hence so often say you languish under, while others have cause to believe you have hitherto lived or might live the happiest of any of the Queen's dominions ?

. . . . . .

It is a certain sign you are strangers to oppression, and know nothing but the name, when you so highly bestow it on matters so inconsiderable ; but that business I find is adjusted. Could I know any real oppressions you lie under, that it is in my power to remedy (and what I wish you would take proper measures to remedy if you truly feel any such), I would be as ready on my part to remove them as you to desire it ; but according to the best judgment I can make of the complaints I have seen (and you once thought I had a pretty good one), I must, in a deep sense of sorrow, say that I fear the kind hand of Providence, that has so long favored and protected you, will, by the ingratitude of many there, to the great mercies of God hitherto shown them, be at length provoked to convince them of their unworthiness.

. . . . . .

I must think there is a regard due to me that has not of late been paid ; pray consider of it fully, and think soberly what you have to desire of me, on the one hand, and ought to perform to me on the other ; for from the next Assembly I shall expect to know what you resolve and what I may depend on. If I must continue my regards to you, let me be engaged to it by a like disposition in you toward me. But if a plurality after this shall think they owe me none or no more than for some years I have met with, let it, on a fair election, be so declared ; and I shall then, without further suspense, know what I have to rely upon. God give you his wisdom and fear to direct you, that yet our poor country may be blessed with peace, love and industry, and we may once more meet good friends, and live so to the end, our relation to the truth having but the same true interest.

I am, with great truth and most sincere regard, your real friend, as well as just Proprietor and Governor,

WILLIAM PENN.

It required about thirty years to settle down into steady government. Then followed thirty years of the greatest peace and prosperity. There were no more contentions between Governor and Assembly ; no more angry recriminations upon which to base partisan capital ; no more striving for liberties, for every reasonable liberty worth striving for was secured ; no more attempts to exalt proprietary interests at the expense of public interests ; no more partisan strife, for there were no parties. The era of internal dissension had closed; the era of external war had not opened. For a generation the

Quaker government went quietly on, performing its functions with vigor and system. Paper money, fully secured by individual property, as well as State credit, was issued in moderate amounts, was never depreciated, and developed business enterprise by taking the place of gold and silver drained to England to purchase the needed importation of a busy and growing population. Taxes were light and were mostly raised from tavern licenses. Indians were friendly, and were kept so by frequent presents and purchases of land. The criminal laws, while rather severe, were humanely executed, and life and property were secured by an alert magistracy and a conscientious population. Oaths were voluntary ; war did not exist. There were no militia companies, but little martial feeling. All religions were free and on an equal footing. Political and personal rights were guarded with jealous care. The best men of the colony, men of the highest education, morality and property interests, held, by the choice of the people, the high offices of government. No taint of political corruption seems to have vitiated the dignity of office-holding, but there "was magistracy in reverence with the people, and kept from being hurtful to them." Could Penn have

seen this thirty years' peace, he would not have been utterly discouraged, nor deemed the "Holy Experiment" a failure.

In 1739 England and Spain went to war, and this was the beginning of the end. In another chapter military questions will be taken up. It is only necessary here to refer to the protection and extension of popular privileges indirectly resulting from the wars. War meant privateering, and privateering destroyed commerce, and this touched Pennsylvania immediately. War meant taxes, and taxes produced discontent, differences with the Governors about the rights of the Assembly, cessation of friendly feeling, and a re-creation of parties.

The Spanish war was soon over, but it was followed by one with the French and their Indian allies in 1744. This lasted in America, in some part or other, practically continuously till 1763, and when it ended the Quaker Assembly was no more.

Parties were now formed on new lines. They had largely disappeared during the twenties and thirties, but at this time we find a marked difference, growing more emphatic with the years between the proprietary party and the "country" party. The Quakers were now in consid-

erable minority in the Province, but were practically all on one side. The Proprietors had left the Society and joined the Episcopal Church, and that body rallied around them. So also did the Presbyterians, and all who believed in a vigorous, warlike policy. These stood together for proprietary rights and interests, and had as their stronghold the Governor and Council.

The Friends and the Germans and their sympathizers maintained their ascendency in the popularly elected Assembly, where they did practically as they pleased. They opposed proprietary pretensions, favored grants to the Indians, and cut down expenses for military operations wherever possible. Their efforts during the years from 1740 to 1756 were directed to securing their rights as representatives of the people in the matters of protesting against secret and arbitrary instructions to the Governor by the Proprietors; of raising money in whatever way seemed good to them ; of insistence on the large proprietary estates being subject to taxation as other similar estates were ; and of independence of royal instructions when they contravened their charter.

The machinery by which the Quakers held their party together, judging from the results,

was effective. During the thirty years of peace they had become competent politicians. It is uncertain how they selected their candidates, or by what means they elected them. There is no reason to suspect any immoral proceedings, for their Assemblymen were men of excellent standing, and many of them served for a long time. Most of them were farmers, and this gave the few men who knew something about law, like David Lloyd, the two Norrises, and Benjamin Franklin, their great influence. It is probable that a loosely organized town meeting called for each case as it arose determined the choice, and that the general interest in the issue, and community of political tendencies carried the election. We hear nothing of difficulties within the party, and they were not the sort of people to tolerate bosses quietly. In these matters of liberty they were solidly and effectively united in the general struggle against Crown and Proprietor, which led up to the Revolutionary war, and held their own as honorably and as successfully as the liberty party of any other colony.

The Province very early in its history, while supplied with many of the necessities of life, was short of money. This resulted from the large

purchases from England, which drained the country of gold and silver. This condition existed up to the Revolution, the balance of trade being almost continually against the Colony. Much real suffering and great stagnation in trade resulted from this state of affairs, and the issuance of paper money became almost a necessity. It was entered upon cautiously. There being no banks or opportunities for specie redemption, it was arranged that bills of credit, which could be used as money, should be issued to individuals as a loan for a term of years, secured by real estate or plate. Interest and a part of the principal were paid back yearly. The amount of the issue being reasonable and the security ample the money never depreciated, as was the case in nearly all the Colonies, while the stimulus to trade was sudden and marked. This process was prudently repeated, and the interest, with tavern licenses, enabled the Colony to get along almost without taxes during the years of peace. Though Logan, Norris, and other conservative men opposed the practice, it seems to have been justified by the results, and there was sufficient self-restraint to prevent an over-issue.

But the wars demanded a vast proportionate increase in the expenses of government, and new

problems presented themselves. The Assembly proposed to meet the increased expenses by further issues of bills of credit, but were in 1740 restrained by the English Privy Council, acting probably at the instance of the Proprietors, by an order prohibiting any new issues, unless a clause were also enacted suspending the execution of the law till the royal assent was obtained. The Governor was instructed to refuse to sign any bill violating this order.

The charter of William Penn had by this time become an object of veneration with the popular party in Pennsylvania, and under it they had deemed themselves secure in the manner of raising money, subject only to the veto of the Governor. It is true that after five years they might also look for a royal veto, but this only involved the necessity of re-enacting the offending law. The new order of the Privy Council therefore seemed an interference with one of their choicest privileges. However, if they could persuade Governor Thomas to sign notwithstanding hostile orders from abroad, the laws would be valid ; and this they managed to do by a judicious reduction of his salary until he was brought to terms. The struggle was continued with successive Governors till the Revolution under the effective leadership of Franklin,

and while often baulked by the proprietary interests, the popular party in the Assembly gradually regained all lost ground. While legally there was no change, practically there was a constant decrease of proprietary interference and a constant growth of popular rights.

The question was complicated with another. The Governor was appointed by the Proprietors, and was in fact their agent. It was his duty to look after first the interests of his employers, and afterwards those of the Colony. When peace prevailed those interests were so nearly identical that no controversy arose. In some cases, notably that of Sir William Keith, the representatives of the people were so much nearer, and it was so much more pleasant to live in harmony with them, that the Governor elected popular rather than proprietary favor, and lost his place, through the efforts of James Logan. Later the Governor had to give a heavy bond, amounting during the wars to £5,000, to obey instructions. Popular bids for favor could hardly be expected to exceed this sum, and the Governor was fairly secured to the side of the Penns.

It was conceded that the Governor had certain executive duties in which it was proper that he should receive detailed instructions, but when it

came to legislative questions stringent and sometimes secret instructions as to vetoing bills were felt to be a tacit invasion of legislative privileges. William Penn, at the urgency of David Lloyd, had wisely given up the power of veto in the case of a bill previously assented to by his deputy, and he and his widow had carefully confined instructions to general directions to suppress vice, to discourage faction, to follow the advice of the Council, and to protect every one in his rights. During the era of good feeling the Assembly would ask to see the instructions to the Governor and he would good-naturedly comply.

After the wars began the Governor refused to show his instructions, and the Assembly protested against the folly of their spending much time in elaborating bills when all the time the Governor had in his closet his private instructions to veto them. They wished to be able to confer with him and by judicious compromises to secure his assent to their bills. All they could do was to find out gradually the character of his limitations by his actions, and they rightly felt they were kept working in the dark. They procured from their agent in England in 1755 a copy of Governor Morris's instructions, and raised a storm against him by their publication. They

refused, notwithstanding the urgency of the war, to vote any supplies if these instructions were brought into operation. Their importunity and firmness finally prevailed, and like the opposition to bills of credit, proprietary instructions before the Revolutionary war were allowed to drop out of sight.

Another subject of conflict was the taxation of Proprietary properties. The Penns were not only the owners of the unoccupied lands of the Province, they were also in their private capacity owners of large tracts within the State which they held like any other private persons. Moreover, they enjoyed an income from quit-rents from most of the lands they had sold. All this property they claimed was exempt from taxation. It would have been manifestly improper to tax the large extent of unproductive land of early times, and besides, there were no land taxes of consequence levied, except for county purposes, and these did not reach the unsurveyed domain of the Proprietors.

But as in the other cases the wars brought this to a focus. The people in response to a demand for money to protect their frontier against invasion insistently made by the Governor, suggested that the Penn estates should bear their

share in the joint defence. The Proprietors, in the view of the Assembly, while possessing certain feudal rights which they did not propose to disturb, were also private land owners and on a level with all other private land owners. In 1755, after Braddock's defeat, they levied a tax on all estates in the Province, real and personal, including quit-rents and unsettled land, which tax was to redeem bills of credit to the amount of £60,000. Governor Morris insisted that his instructions required him to protect the interests of his employers, and refused to pass the bill. The Assembly replied to his arguments that it was better to give part in taxes than to lose the whole by the French, and threw upon him and the Proprietors the responsibility for the defenceless state of the Province. The Indians were scalping on the frontiers, and there were daily distressing demands for protection, but the Assembly judged the principles involved in their struggle with the Governor were worth more than temporary security. Neither yielded until finally a solution was found in an offer of a free gift by the Penns of £5,000, with the understanding that it should not be considered as a substitute for the tax. The Assembly said nothing on this latter point, but passed a bill raising

£55,000 and omitted the taxation of the property of the Penns. The £5,000 was to be collected by the Assembly out of the arrears of quit-rents, and hence was not quite so liberal as it seemed to be.

Bills for revenue followed in rapid succession, and the controversy was renewed. Benjamin Franklin was sent to England to look after provincial rights, and he invoked the aid of the home government. After considerable fencing the proprietary case was defeated, and the Assembly had the satisfaction of completely carrying their point.

The controversies of the time are shown in a private letter of James Pemberton, a member of the Assembly, to Henton Brown, dated 15th of Tenth month, 1755 :

"When I last wrote thee, our new Governor, R. H. Morris, was but just come to town, and as the Representatives were but newly elected the Assembly had not met him : their sessions began soon after, agreeable to our charter, on the 14th of October, which were but short at that time and passed chiefly in compliments to each other, and being unusual to do business at the first time of their sitting, they made the Governor a present of five hundred pounds, and, what is a particular privilege to their own, adjourned to the 2d of last, when they met for the dispatch of business. The Governor very warmly recommended to them the making provision for dislodging the French on the borders of this and the neighboring Provinces. A majority of the House being of our Society,

they could not (as they never at any time have) literally comply with such a demand. However, as we are always willing to demonstrate our allegiance to our King, by a ready compliance with his instructions, as far as they do not affect our religious principles, in imitation of the practice of former Assemblies of this Province, they cheerfully voted the sum of twenty thousand pounds for the King's use, and sent up a bill to the Governor for striking that sum in paper bills of credit to be sunk in ten years by extending an act for laying an excise on spirituous liquors, which act hath subsisted for several years in this Province, and been experienced to be a tax the least burthensome to the inhabitants. In which time the said bills of credit would be all called in, and the demand of the Crown immediately satisfied, the excise being proved sufficient to raise more, one year with another, than two thousand pounds. Notwithstanding this scheme is so reasonable in itself, yet the Governor hath positively refused passing that bill, urging it to be contrary to the instructions from the King, in the year 1740, to Governor Thomas.

. . . . . .

"At this time we have but £80,000 in paper bills of credit amongst us, none of which goes out to the people, but on mortgages, which yield an annual interest to the Province, by which the heavy expense of maintaining our friendship with the Indians and other charges of government are defrayed; as well the farmers who purchase land from the Proprietaries are enabled to improve their settlements, and make their payments to them by borrowing from the loan office, by which means the paper currency hath proved of singular service in advancing their interest and all parties share the benefit thereof, which would be more extensive could we obtain an additional sum to what is now current, more especially as our importation of English manufactures is prodigiously increased within these few years. But nothing of this kind is attempted at this time, and I only mention it to convince thee of the real advantages of paper currency, and that the sum now current is very trifling compared with the

income of our trade, and that we cannot do without it while we continue to send to you the silver and gold we procure from the West Indies in return for the produce of the country which we export thither. The only intent of striking the present sum proposed is that the crown may have the immediate benefit of it, there being no other fund by which such a sum can be raised in the same time. A land tax would be a grievance too great for this infant colony, and such as the people cannot at this time bear to pay; besides is it not reasonable we should have the liberty of raising money upon ourselves in a manner least burthensome. A long contest hath subsisted between the Governor and the Assembly, in the course of which, from his manner of treating the subject, as well as the opinion of our last Governor Hamilton in his message to the last assembly, we have very strong reasons to conclude that the royal instructions are not the obstacle to the passing our bill, but some private instructions from our Proprietaries, who in every place of their conduct towards the people of this province for some years past appear to be aiming to subvert the valuable privileges granted us by the charters from King Charles and their worthy father, in consequence of which under Providence this province was settled and is now become a great income to them and of no small advantages to our mother country; therefore the assembly finding no prospect of redress by contesting the point with the governor here, have drawn up a remonstrance to the King which was sent via New York to our agents R. Partridge and Robert Charles to be presented to him setting forth what we would have done had not as we apprehend the proprietary restrictions to their lieutenant prevented; therefore the request I have to make to thee relates to the province in general, and it will be kindly accepted here, if thou wilt so far favor us with thy friendship as to join thy assistance to obtain a ready passage of our remonstrance to the King, being suspicious some of the Proprietaries' friends may use their endeavors to prevent it, as was the case with an address of a neighboring province lately. We have requested the assistance

of the Meeting for Sufferings, which I hope they will cheerfully afford us, to which thy influence may greatly contribute. It is a matter of considerable consequence to the inhabitants; our liberties are at stake, and I think we have as much reason to dread an attack upon them from our Proprietary, whose ambitious views seem bent on enslaving us, as any danger that may be at present thought to threaten us, as should they gain their point, and we are to be governed by their private instructions inconsistent with our charter, we can no longer pretend to claim the title of being the freemen of Pennsylvania. It may be necessary further to remark that our public funds, are much reduced by very heavy expenses of Indian Treaties and maintaining at this time a large number of Indian allies who have taken refuge in this province from the Ohio; and though this is the case the Assembly has exerted themselves as far as they had the means in their own power and have voted five thousand pounds to be laid out in provisions for the King's troops against the time they may arrive, in pursuance of the royal orders from Sir Thos. Robinson of the 26th October last received while the Assembly was sitting.

While the Quakers gave up control of the Assembly in 1756 the policy of the succeeding Assemblies in respect to these difficult subjects remained the same down to the Revolutionary war. Gradually there grew up a party which, angered by proprietary resistance, urged upon the English government the destruction of the Charter and the creation of a Crown Colony. On this point the Friends were divided. A decade earlier none of them would have considered the forfeiture of Penn's charter. Now the vex-

ations of proprietary government seemed very objectionable, and many joined with Franklin and other radicals in the movement. It was always opposed by the more substantial members, and nothing was accomplished till the Revolution solved the problem in an unlooked for way.

It has been usually represented that the troubles of the years between 1740 and 1756 were the result of a conflict between the Governor and the Quaker Assembly over the subject of the defence of the Province from French and Indian attack. How much this may have been an effective cause below the surface it is difficult to tell. So far as one can judge from the public records, it was a controversy between proprietary and popular rights and privileges, in which the popular party, almost exclusively Friendly in its representatives though not in its membership,* acquitted itself so as to win success without sacrificing the stability of the government. A French invasion was less terrible than the surrender of the powers of the Assembly, and the

* Thomas Penn writes to Governor Hamilton, in 1760, referring to a proposed visit of William Logan to England: "You may be assured I will treat him with regard, and show him I have no disregard to those of his profession (the Friends), except on their levelling republican system of government so much adopted by them."

people demanded that the Proprietor should yield. Then they were as liberal as in any other State in supplying the resources for defence. They bought or intimidated the Governors one by one and finally carried the war into England and conquered.

CHAPTER V.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

The strenuous and in the main consistent belief of the early Quakers in religious liberty and the supremacy of conscience was founded on their doctrine of the divine character and authority of the Light by which the conscience was guided and instructed. It was sealed to them by the severe persecutions of England. While they contended that this light would in essential particulars lead all obedient children into closeness of sympathy and substantial similarity of belief, they recognized the varying degree of its acceptance by different people, and were willing to leave the uninstructed to its further operations and the inspired teaching of those who were more fully confirmed in its counsels.

The writings of the English Quakers and of William Penn in particular are replete with expressions against interference by government with the private beliefs of any subjects, and with the actions for which they claimed a conscientious sanction, so long as they were orderly and moral. Penn announced in 1670 that he was "a

friend of universal toleration in faith and worship," and wrote "The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience Briefly Debated and Defended." His main statement is "That imposition, restraint and persecution for conscience' sake highly invade the Divine prerogative." This is amplified by the arguments now so familiar, and illustrated by historical references and quotations from classical and Christian writings in great profusion.

The persecutions of the Quakers were a penalty for the staunch maintenance of principles and practices for which they believed they had the authority of enlightened consciences. They were firmly convinced of their rightfulness, and loudly exclaimed against the injustice of oppression. They, however, unlike the Puritans, generalized from their own case and arrived at the conclusion that they were working for a common liberty, not the establishment of their own ideas of truth. The settlers of Massachusetts had formed a commonwealth in which "truth" was to rule, and "error" to be punished and exiled. They, too, had suffered in England, and had emigrated to secure liberty of conscience for themselves. They had formed a Puritan reservation at great expense of time, treasure and heroic self-

sacrifice. They must preserve this at whatever cost. "There is no room in Christ's triumphant army for tolerationists."* How could they see their State invaded, their laws defied, their ecclesiastical system scorned, by the very agencies they had left England to avoid? If Episcopacy was on one hand to be ruled out, still more necessary was it that they should show to the world that the errors of the Baptists and Quakers had no place there, and so the heretics were sent to Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, and the very persistent Quakers were hanged on Boston Common.

But matters were a little further developed by Penn's time; Quaker theology a little less dogmatic and literal than Puritan; there was more faith in Truth making its own way, and the broader view prevailed.†

* Longfellow's "New England Tragedies."

† "Let the tares grow with the wheat, errors of judgment remain till removed by the power of light and conviction. A religion without it is inhuman, since reason only makes humanity. For my part, I frankly declare that I cannot think that God will damn any man for the errors of his judgment, and God forbid that all or most of the world err willingly in understanding."

William Penn to Duke of Ormond, "Academy," January 11, 1896.

Nor did the principle stop with toleration. Pennsylvania was not to be a Quaker Colony where other sects were tolerated. One might as well tolerate the holding of property as of opinion. The principle was not based on the favor of rulers ; it was an inherent right. It was not to be toleration ; it was to be religious liberty and freedom from all State interference. So said Penn, and he placed the maxim in the forefront in all his "Frames of Government," and despite some dissatisfaction at first among a few Quakers* it always remained there.

We have seen that the "Fundamental Constitutions" were the products of Penn's wrestling in company with unknown advisers with the problems of government, and that they express, perhaps more nearly than subsequent publications, his own ideas. The first article is worth quoting entire.

Considering that it is impossible that any people or Government should ever prosper, where men render not unto God that which is God's, as well as to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's; and also perceiving the disorders and mischiefs that attend those places where force is used in matters of faith and worship, and seriously reflecting upon the tenure of the new and spiritual Government, and that both Christ did not use force and that He did not ex-

* "Pennsylvania Magazine," Vol. VI., page 467, et seq.

pressly forbid it in His holy religion, so also that the testimony of His blessed messengers was, that the weapons of the Christian warfare were not carnal but spiritual; and further weighing that this unpeopled country can never be planted if there be not due encouragement given to sober people of all sorts to plant, and that they will not esteem anything a sufficient encouragement when they are not assured, but that after all the hazards of the sea, and the troubles of a wilderness, the labours of their hands and sweat of their brows may be made the forfeit of their conscience, and they and their wives and children ruined because they worship God in some different way from that which may be more generally owned, Therefore, in reverence to God, the father of lights and spirits, the author, as well as object, of all divine knowledge, faith and worship, I do hereby declare for me and mine, and establish it for the first fundamental of the government of my country, that every person that does or shall reside therein shall have and enjoy the free possession of his or her faith and exercise of worship towards God, in such way and manner as every person shall in conscience believe is most acceptable to God; and so long as every such person useth not this Christian liberty to licentiousness, that is to say, to speak loosely and profanely of God, Christ or Religion, or to commit any evil in their conversation, he or she shall be protected in the enjoyment of the aforesaid Christian liberty by the civil Magistrate.*

The first clause of the charter of 1701, under which was operated the government of Pennsylvania till 1776, was :

Because no people can be truly happy, though under the greatest enjoyment of civil liberties, if abridged of the freedom of their consciences as to their religious profession and worship, and Almighty God being the one Lord of Conscience, father of Light and Spirits, and the author,

* "Pennsylvania Magazine," October, 1896.

as well as object, of all divine knowledge, faith and worship, who only doth enlighten the mind and persuade and convince the understandings of people, I do hereby grant and declare that no person or persons inhabiting in this province or territories who shall confess or acknowledge one Almighty God, the creator, upholder and ruler of the world, and profess him or themselves obliged to live quietly under the civil government, shall be in any case molested or prejudiced in his or their person or estate, because of his or their conscientious persuasion or practice, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry, contrary to his or their mind, or to do or suffer any other act or thing contrary to their religious persuasion. And that all persons who also profess to believe in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, shall be capable (notwithstanding their other persuasions and practices in point of conscience and religion) to serve this government in any capacity, both legislatively and executively, he or they solemnly promising, when lawfully required, allegiance to the king as Sovereign, and fidelity to the Proprietor and Governor, etc.

We have from these Penn's idea. It involved perfect liberty of conscience, opinion and worship, and perfect equality among Christian people in the matter of office holding. That it did not extend to non-Christians is a matter of regret. It is probable that a charter could not have been obtained on this basis. It was expected that Penn would found a Christian colony. At this time there were practically no professing non-Christians, except perhaps a very few Jews.

Some of the associates and immediate suc-

cessors of the Founder took a narrower view of this principle. Not content with excluding Jews, they also deprived Catholics by a religious test of the opportunity to hold office.

Penn was largely instrumental in securing the passage in England of the Toleration Act, in 1689. This greatly relieved his fellow-believers of the extreme suffering they had endured for nearly fifty years for conscience' sake. It also enabled various dissenting sects to practise unmolested their forms of worship, provided they would subscribe to a declaration of fidelity to the sovereign, and would condemn the doctrine of transubstantiation, and of the worship of Mary and of the Saints.

This act, beneficent and liberal in comparison with anything England had known, was used to fetter the broader principle which Penn sought to establish in his colony. Not only when his charter was taken away, in 1692-4, and Governor Fletcher administered affairs in a way to displease all of Penn's friends, but afterwards as well, was lower ground taken. The tests which in England were made a condition of the permission of public worship, became under Fletcher an indispensable requisite for all offices.

In 1696, in the Markham constitution, to which Penn acquiesced, the same tests were continued. This acquiescence may have been due to the very slender hold he felt he had on his charter under William and Mary, and the Whig politicians by whom they were surrounded. When he returned to the colony he again forced his freer scheme into the constitution of 1701, and attempted to make it permanent by the pledge "for himself and his heirs, that the first article of this charter, relating to liberty of conscience, and every part and clause thereof, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, shall be kept and remain without any alteration inviolably forever."

His charter, granted by authority of the English crown, gave him full right to make such a pledge. But in violation of this right, in 1702, another order of the crown required of all officers of colonies that they should subscribe to all the tests of the Toleration Act. Penn felt too insecure to object to this, and Colonel Quarry, the Judge of the Admiralty, the bitter opponent of the Quakers, forced it upon members of the Council, Judges and Assemblymen. They all took it, to Penn's indignation, who asked, "Why should you obey any order . . .

which is not according to patent or law here, nor the laws of your own country ? * He advised resistance, but met with no support in Pennsylvania. Even Logan deserted him. "Be pleased not to set such a value as thou dost upon the charter (that of 1701, just quoted) granted, for most are of opinion it is not worth so many pence, and if mine were asked, I should still rate it much lower."

Not content with submitting quietly to the imposition of the test by English authority, the Assembly, in 1705, practically re-enacted it themselves. They required all members of the Assembly, and the provision afterwards extended to all civil officers, to subscribe to the test, and support it by oath or affirmation.†

* Penn and Logan Correspondence, Vol. I., page 247.

† The test taken by all civil officers in Pennsylvania was :

"I, A. B., do sincerely promise and solemnly declare before God and the world, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Queen Anne. And I do solemnly profess and declare that I do from my heart abhor, detest and renounce as impious and heretical that damnable doctrine and position that princes, excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any person whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath or ought to have any

This test stood, with some modification as to a denial of the rights of the Pretender, until removed by Franklin and his associates in 1776, when Penn's old test of 1701 was readopted.

It does not appear that any protests, either by

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power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or civil, within the realm of England or the dominions belonging thereunto.

"And I, A. B., do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous.

"And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope, or any other person or authority whatsoever; or without thinking I am or may be acquitted before God and man, or absolved of this declaration or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons or power whatsoever should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

"And I, A. B., profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ His eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed forevermore; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by Divine Inspiration."

the Assembly or the meetings, were made against the use of this abridgement of the rights of office-holders. During the seventy years all officials subscribed without apparent demur. Catholics, Jews and Socinians were excluded from positions under the State. They were also by the imposition of the same test denied the legal right to hold church property, or to become naturalized. In other words, while freedom of worship was permitted to all, it was intended to make Pennsylvania's government one of and for Orthodox Protestant Christians only. This was in advance of other colonies, except Rhode Island and Maryland, where the Catholic worship was prohibited, but behind Penn's enlightened conception of religious liberty and equality under the law.

It is true Catholics were few in number (1400 only in 1757), while the other prohibitions kept almost no one out of State employment. The Catholic religion was, both in England and America, the subject of bitter reprobation for its historical association with the Stuarts, and with the Colonial enemies, the French. These facts may explain, but hardly justify, the complacence with which their official disabilities were viewed during these years. In the general

eulogy given to the Pennsylvania constitution, this exception to religious freedom should be borne in mind.* One also is surprised to find that the Quakers made no objection to the imposition of *any* religious test. They could honestly subscribe to this one, but their general opposition to creeds, except when expressed in biblical words only, might have been expected to show itself in some public or private protest.

It must therefore be recognized that notwithstanding the liberal charter, Penn's and the Assembly's right to enact liberties and make laws was greatly restricted. The Privy Council annulled what it chose, and its decisions were determined by the views of the Attorney General, who thus became a greater power in legislation in certain particulars than Penn himself. Thus with regard to Penn's act concerning liberty of conscience, that irresponsible official writes: "I am of opinion that this law is not fit to be confirmed, no regard being had in it to the Christian religion, and also for that in the indulgence allowed to the Quakers in England by the statute of the first William and Mary," etc. The whole of Penn's liberal scheme, supported

* This subject is fully treated in the Pennsylvania Magazine, Vol. IX., pages 365, etc., by Dr. Stillé.

at first by the voice of the people's representatives, went down before the opinion of one man.

Penn was in no condition to resist. Burdened by debt, incurred in support of his colony; his deputy a failure; his steward a fraud; his son a disappointment ; he saw no recourse but to sell his province to the crown. Under these circumstances, he could only protest and be silent. Of the fifty-three laws vetoed by the Crown in 1705, some he agreed to have returned and amended, some he apologized for, and some he feebly defends. But when the "Act of privileges to a freeman," reading, "That no freeman shall be hurt, damnified, destroyed, tried or condemned, but by the lawful judgment of his twelve equals, or by the laws of the Province," was objected to because "This, we think, will interfere with the act for preventing frauds, etc." he flamed out with his old liberty-loving spirit,— "I cannot help it ; 'tis the great charter that all Englishmen are entitled to, and we went not so far to loose a little of it."*

* For a detailed description of the English treatment of Pennsylvania enactments, see appendix to "The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania," published by the State, Vol. II., 1896. The limitations of Penn's powers were never so clearly shown as in the extracts there printed from the Public Records of London. This work is not complete,

To what extent did Penn desire favors for his own people in connection with government? That he hoped he was founding a Quaker State, conducted by and for them, is evident from many expressions. He probably shared the belief then prevalent in the Society, that Quakerism was simply Christianity shorn of human accretions, and was destined to become universal. It was only necessary to entrench it in power by proper means, and its own intrinsic worth would draw the people to it. But he vigorously refused to allow any constitutional advantages to his denomination. "Every particular denomination of the Christian religion is perfectly upon a level in Pennsylvania," wrote Thomas Penn, in 1757, speaking of facts as they were, and had always been, with the exceptions noted above. In the letter to Jasper Yeates, already quoted, Penn rebukes him for desiring to keep those not of the "Stock of David" from the government. "We should look selfish and do that which we have cried out upon others for, namely, letting nobody touch with government but those of their own way. And this hath

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but it is becoming more and more evident that Penn and the Quakers were greatly hampered in their liberal intentions by ridiculous but effective opposition at home.

often been flung at us, viz.: If you Quakers had it in your power none should have a part in government but those of your own way." He says also that property has a right to representation which cannot be denied. He explains very fully and very succinctly in a letter to Roger Mompesson his purposes in the effort to establish a State :—

> "I went thither to lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind that should go thither, more especially those of my own profession ; not that I would lessen the civil liberties of others because of their persuasion, but screen and defend our own from any infringement on that account."*

Thirty years before Penn led his colony to America, the far-sighted George Fox had under consideration the project of procuring a place there to which persecuted Friends might emigrate. He requested Josiah Cole, a minister going to see the Indians of the interior, to look for a favorable location, where he might purchase from them a home, not for his Society bodily to move to, but for the poor who could not stand the shock of persecution. But Cole, while favorable to some territory on the Susquehanna, reported in 1660 difficulties in the

* Penn and Logan Correspondence, Vol. I., page 373.

way of the purchase.* The matter, however, appears to have been kept in view, and in 1674, when Lord Berkeley offered for sale one-half of New Jersey, it was purchased by two Quakers, John Fenwick and Edward Billinge, probably with the knowledge and approval of others of their persuasion. Billinge, however, soon failed, and in order that the opportunity should not be lost, assigned to William Penn and two others nine-tenths of the new territory. Many Quakers moved there, and thus West Jersey became in a sense a Quaker colony. It grew so rapidly in population, that the experiment was extended to east New Jersey, and in 1681 William Penn, and eleven other Friends, purchased of the proprietor, Sir George Carteret, the remainder of the province, organized the government, and invited immigration. Robert Barclay, of Urie, the Quaker apologist, was made Governor for life. There were, however, in the country such numbers presumably not in sympathy with Quaker views that the experiment was deemed hardly a fair one, and Pennsylvania, "virgin settlement," was at last procured. "My God hath given it me in the face of the

* Bowden's History of Friends in America, Vol. I., p. 389.

world," Penn says in 1682, and evidently the long-delayed Quaker desire was accomplished.

There was some excuse then for the fact that Friends felt a sense of proprietorship in the new colony, and wished to hedge themselves around with some power and preferment. That they took so little is greatly to their credit. They asked only what their numbers and character would give them. William Penn was anxious they should take office in government and give their principles a full trial. When complaint was made to England that a man was sentenced to death by an affirmed rather than a sworn jury, he writes to Logan in 1703 : "It was not to be thought that a colony and constitution of government made by and for Quakers would leave themselves and their lives and fortunes out of so essential a part of the government as juries. . . . If the coming of others shall overrule us that are the originals and made it a country we are unhappy ; that it is not to be thought we intended no easier nor better terms for ourselves in going to America than we left behind us."*

The Quakers, therefore, meant to retain for themselves just what they were willing to grant

* Penn and Logan Correspondence, Vol. I., page 205.

to all other Protestants. But because they held peculiar views concerning the immorality of oaths and of war, the ordinary forms of government had to be seriously changed to conform to the new conditions. While therefore they felt that they were only asserting for themselves a reasonable liberty of conscience, it seemed to others that they were giving away the stability and permanence of the State. Hence arose the strong opposition to Quaker rule among certain elements of the population of Pennsylvania, which found a still stronger echo in England.

Part of this was reasonable. Evidently there could be no possibility of arrangement between those who believed oaths to be indispensable and those who believed them to be sinful. One or the other must prevail. The Quaker, determined to have the share in government to which his numbers and character entitled him, would neither take oaths nor administer them. He did not deny them by statute to others, and an Episcopalian could take them without prejudice if he could find an Episcopalian to administer them. The subject was a standing bone of contention on which there was an honest fundamental difference of opinion.*

* Penn and Logan Correspondence, Vol I., page 65.

Still more strongly were pressed the views denying the possibility of conducting a government on the basis of anti-martial principles, and there was at times a fear, real and honest, that Pennsylvania would be given over to the merciless slaughter of the Indians, or lost by conquest by the French.

Other charges were less respectable. James Logan intimates that the Episcopal church felt a grievance from the fact that it had not the superiority that it had in England and in some other colonies, and hence declined to certify to the justice of Quaker rule. Others wrote to sympathizing friends across the water that the Quakers had what we would now call a political machine conducted by the church organization. This charge has been echoed by writers of recent times.* If true it has been most carefully kept out of the records. The proceedings of the meetings never touch legislation, except incidentally when they deal with moral questions like oaths or slavery. No candidates were ever suggested or discussed. No political conclusions or advice

* "History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania," by W. R. Shepherd, page 548. See note, page 75 of this book.

"Pennsylvania, Colony and Commonwealth," by Sydney George Fisher, page 91.

ever appear. The most important case in which the meetings undertook any oversight of the Assemblymen was in 1756 and the following years, when they were trying to induce them to resign. There is no doubt that considerable *esprit de corps* existed in the Society. When Friends met before and after meetings, doubtless the affairs of politics were talked over, and no doubt also the trend of a sermon or letter of advice on a moral or religious subject would influence votes, as it does to-day. That the Quakers held together so well and controlled the State so long is due not to any political organization, or church organization worked for political purposes, but to the fact that the State expressed the principles in which they in common with many German sects believed, and that they were loyal to the representatives of these principles. The continuous attacks of their enemies doubtless held them together, even when their natural divisions between the Proprietary party and the democrats would have drawn them apart.

The attacks upon them are therefore just from the standpoint of those who believe oaths and war essential to government, and relief from them not properly embraced in the liberties to be

granted to sensitive consciences, but hardly on the other grounds of complaint.

The war question will be dealt with in a later chapter. The ground of the Quaker objection to oaths was partly Biblical, partly resentment at the suggestion of untruthfulness involved in them; and the sufferings endured in England on account of this objection had only fortified their beliefs in their position. They did not intend to have to suffer further in Pennsylvania if they could avoid it. One of their prime reasons for emigrating was to be able to have their honest promise, their yea and nay, accepted at its face value without the need of any confirmatory solemnities. A clause of the first "Great Law" of 1682 enacted "That all witnesses coming or called to testify their knowledge in or to any matter or thing in any court, or before any lawful authority within the said Province, shall there give in or deliver their evidence or testimony by solemnly promising to speak the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth to the matter or thing in question." Then follow severe penalties for falsehood. Had this law been permitted to stand for the Commonwealth, oaths would have disappeared, the penalties for falsehood would have replaced the penalties for perjury,

justice would have been administered, and loyalty secured, as perfectly by affirmations as by oaths, and the people in a little while would have adjusted their thoughts to the new order. The good man would have preferred to tell the truth, and the bad man would have feared the punishment for untruth, and as has been amply proved since, oaths even if right in theory would have become unnecessary in practice. But unfortunately for this solution of the problem, Pennsylvania was not an independent State.

The council in 1685 refused to administer an oath even to the king's collector of customs, who came armed with English instructions to be sworn, telling him "it was against their methods to take an oath."

The matter seemed to have worked smoothly on this basis till 1693. Then Penn was deprived of his proprietorship, and Fletcher was appointed Governor by the Crown. The English laws were supposed to be applicable. The act of 1689 permitted Quakers in England to offer a solemn affirmation "in the presence of Almighty God" in place of an oath, but prohibited them from giving evidence in criminal cases, from serving on juries, or from holding any office. The original laws of Pennsylvania made the official qual-

ification a profession of faith in Jesus Christ. The English made the additional requirement of a belief in the Trinity and the Scriptures. The matter for the time was allowed to go by default. The Assembly protested against the new impositions, but finally accepting the declaration of fidelity and orthodoxy, were allowed to continue the exercise of their functions without an oath.

By this time many non-Quakers were in Pennsylvania. Some thought oaths necessary, others liked to worry the Quakers and drive them from government. To satisfy the former it was enacted in the Frame of 1696 that affirmation should be permitted to all whose conscience did not permit them to swear, and that the penalties for false affirmation should be the same as those attached to perjury. The English officers in Pennsylvania should take the oath according to English law.

For several years there followed a contest with the Crown officers and Governor. The Assembly passed bills the object of which was to prevent Quakers from being disqualified from office-holding by their objections to administering oaths, which bills were repealed in England. The Church party in the State sent formal remonstrances to England against the liberties

allowed in taking affirmations. On the other hand the anti-proprietary Quaker party under the leadership of David Lloyd sent to England a formal protest in 1704 against William Penn because he had not secured relief from administering oaths, so that many Quakers were driven from government employment.

This resulted from an order obtained in England in 1703, doubtless for the sake of annoying the Quakers,* that judges and other officers should be required to administer oaths to all persons willing to take them. If they refused, the proceedings were to be null and void. This created great confusion in the Province. In some sections there were none but Quakers suitable for justices, and government was suspended. Some Quakers appear to have administered the oath or allowed it to be administered, and some resigned. Penn, who was in England at the time, wrote disapproving of both courses. He said they should have disobeyed and held their places. "I desire you to pluck up that English and Christian courage to not suffer yourselves to be thus treated and put upon." "Spirit him (the new Governor) and creep not. . . .

* Penn and Logan Correspondence, Vol. 1., page 214 et seq.

Lose what you lose like men and Christians."* Here spoke again the old spirit of martyrdom which said that his prison should be his grave before he would sacrifice a principle. The Pennsylvanians were forgetting how to suffer, and were being spoiled by their liberties.

The Assembly, however, was not inactive. Law after law was sent to the Governor, making affirmations valid in all courts. Either he did not believe with Penn, who appointed him, in the invalidity of the Queen's order, or was swayed by opposition to the party which dominated the Assembly. He refused his consent. Then a joint meeting of Governor, Council and Assembly was held.† The Attorney General had advised that no charter could abrogate the law of England requiring a jury to be sworn in a capital case. Notwithstanding this it was decided that Governor and Council had power to pass a law, substituting affirmations for oaths, because it had been done in the past and the Crown had not objected. Moreover, there were country places where juries could not be made up without Quakers unless they should consist

* Penn and Logan Correspondence, page 248.

† Colonial Records, Vol. II., page 233 et seq.

" wholly of Swedes and other foreigners in whom there would be much less security." It was further urged that those willing to take oaths would be permitted so to do, if the official was also willing to administer them.

To this the Governor objected that in many cases where the magistrate was not willing to administer oaths there would be no chance to have them taken, and that the Queen's order requires them in such cases. The Assembly replied to this that it had been well known that Quakers who had " first settled and now chiefly inhabit this country " would have nothing to do with oaths, and moreover that this had been recognized by allowing these same judges and magistrates to be qualified by an affirmation, and that it was very unlikely the Queen meant to remove all of them from office.

But, the Governor replied, some Quakers get along very well as judges notwithstanding the Queen's order.

On the other hand, said the Assembly, where there are conscientious Quaker justices, if some one desires evidence to be sworn to before them, the whole proceedings become null and void. Hence they ask that in such cases the affirmation may be legal.

The Governor finally decided to sign the bill, to take effect after a lapse of time sufficient to allow the Crown to veto it.

The Episcopalians sent a protest against the bill to London and it was repealed. The Assembly re-enacted it and sent it to the Governor, who now refused to sign it. The Assembly protested with great vigor that there was no security against murder in a Quaker community, for their evidence would not be received.

The next Assembly, in 1711, conceded some points to the Governor, and a fairly satisfactory measure was passed, to be vetoed by the Crown in 1713. Until vetoed it remained in force. After this the process was again and again repeated, the Governor objecting each time to the passage of the bill. Finally in 1718 an act was passed carrying most of the provisions that the Assembly had contended for,—the right to consider an affirmation as valid as an oath in evidence, and as a qualification for office, and affixing the same penalties for lying under such circumstances as for perjury. This managed to escape repeal in London.

Another question now came up. Some Quakers objected to the phrase "in the name of Almighty God," as approximating an oath in effect.

James Logan, in 1706, while admitting the form to be objectionable, thought that greater security than ordinary was needed in Pennsylvania, "where such a rotten and insensible generation shelter themselves under the name"* (of Friends). (This was in the heat of his controversy with David Lloyd.)

The Yearly Meeting in 1710 recognizing the difference refused to take sides, but asked for charity. "The solemn affirmation is a thing of the greatest moment. We exhort all to be very careful about it. . . . That Friends be charitable one to another about it; they that can take it, not to censure or reproach those who can not; and those who can not, to use the like caution and regard to those who can, till further relief can be had for us all."

The whole matter so far as government was concerned was finally laid at rest by a law finally ratified by the king in 1725, prescribing the forms of declaration of fidelity to King George, and renunciation of a belief in the power of the Pope over the English Crown, of abjuration of allegiance to the Stuarts, and of affirmation. The latter form omitted any reference to God, and

* Penn and Logan Correspondence, Vol.II., page 187.

as administered simply was, "Dost thou, A. B., solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm —— ?" To which the answer is to be "yea" or "yes."

The Yearly Meeting this year expresses its satisfaction at the favorable turn of affairs. It calls attention to the fact that the preamble to the act says: "It is evident that the said people called Quakers have not abused the liberty or indulgences allowed to them by law," and urges that the further liberties be so used as to justify this favorable notice.

The expense of securing the ratification of the act must have been considerable, for we find records in several, perhaps all, the meetings* advising subscriptions towards the funds raised for the purpose.

Oaths, however, were still administered and taken by those who had no scruples, and the two systems did not work side by side without friction. In 1732 Chester Quarterly Meeting asked whether justices in a mixed court are responsible for the acts of the body in administering oaths,

* "Ordered by the Quarterly Meeting (Bucks), that every Monthly Meeting shall make a subscription towards the charge of gaining the royal assent to the Affirmation Act as others have done." 1726.

and also whether clerks who are Friends can carry out orders to swear witnesses. The Yearly Meeting decided negatively in the latter case. In the former it determined that Quaker justices should have no part in such administration. If, however, there are enough other justices to make the act legal without their concurrence they may retain their places without sacrifice of principle.

There seemed, however, no way to allow a conscientious Quaker to serve as a judge or other official from whom the right to take an oath could be claimed. One such place after another they resigned, at their own motion or the urgency of the meeting. Some retained the office and disobeyed instructions, and in some places the difficulty of securing competent officials not Quakers disposed the meetings to look leniently on the offenders.

One of the "queries" answered three times a year by all the meetings was, "Do you maintain a faithful testimony against oaths," and other specified Quaker immoralities. Towards the middle of the century there were many exceptions in the matter of administering oaths.* The cases

* "That Friends are generally pretty clear with respect to military service, defrauding the King of his duties, payment of church rates so-called, or being concerned in

were taken up one by one by the monthly meetings, under directions from the Yearly Meeting.* This body also advised its members not to vote for Quakers for such offices. Many were induced to decline to serve,† and a very general refusal to accept judgeships and magistracies resulted.

It may seem strange that a belief so unanimously accepted as a cardinal ethical principle, should after the lapse of a century have to be

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prize goods, or goods unlawfully imported ; though not from the administering of oaths." Bucks Q. M., 28, VIII., 1760.

* "Recommended that the care of Friends, where occasion requires it, may be exerted to labor in Christian love, to convince such of their error who are deficient in respect to our testimony against oaths, and that where these endeavors prove unsuccessful, that Friends proceed according to our discipline ; and it is likewise further desired that all Friends may be particularly careful that they be not accessory in promoting or choosing their brethren in such offices which may subject them to the temptation of deviating from our Christian testimony in this or any other branch thereof." Yearly Meeting, 1762.

† "I. T. so far condemns his having administered an oath, as to declare himself determined not to accept of any office for the future which may subject him to the necessity of doing it, and that he now sees the practice inconsistent both with the rules of the Society and the convictions of his own mind."
Middletown M. M., 1762.

inculcated upon unwilling members as a condition to the continuance of fraternal relations. Its triumph in Pennsylvania and in a modified way in England was so secure, that in the minds of most of them the sufferings of their ancestors were justified by the result. The Society as a whole apparently never wavered in its support. No corporate defection ever resulted from it. The responsibility of government, the duties and privileges of place, brought the Quakers incidentally to the stand where they must adhere to convictions or to office. The decision went forth, as clear as a bell, to hold no office and give no vote which would render nugatory the unchanging testimony of the fathers, and a certain line of offices knew no Quaker incumbents even in communities almost unanimously of their persuasion. The few exceptions to this were, after a long time of unsuccessful kindly discipline, disowned by the Society.

The laws of Pennsylvania, of the States in general, and of the United States, are practically those to which the agitation of the question brought the Pennsylvanians in 1725. They amount to freedom to choose between oath and affirmation on the part of the taker, but no such freedom on the part of the

giver. The law for which the Quakers pressed so assiduously as the best possible under the circumstances allowed all denominations except their own to hold judicial positions. Their ideal was doubtless expressed in the original law of 1682, but having been beaten out of this by the pressure of opposing interests fortified by English authority, they retained what they could, and secured to all the future the liberty to have their yea counted as yea and their nay as nay without the implied invocation of a curse for every falsehood, or the irreverent use of a sacred name in every formal proceeding of the courts.

This was purchased coincidently with if not consequent upon the sacrifice of another principle, which most people would judge of equal importance with that against oaths.

The "Great Law" of 1682, passed under the impulse of the influence of William Penn and his immediate friends, reduced the death penalty to cases of treason and murder (practically to the one crime of malicious murder only). This stood till 1718. There does not appear to have been any alarming increase of crime, though numerous reports were sent to England by enemies of the Provincial government, tending to show in-

security of life and property as a result of too great leniency. While we have no evidence that Penn changed his mind on the subject of capital punishment, he frequently wrote urging a vigorous enforcement of laws against criminals, as one means of aiding him in defending the good name of the Province.

In 1715 a prominent citizen, Jonathan Hayes, was murdered in Chester county. This was while the affirmation question was unsettled, just after Governor Gookin had decided that the English disqualifying law applied to Pennsylvania. As judges, and probably witnesses and part of the jury, would have to be Quakers, who refused to be sworn, the prisoners were released on bail for about three years. In the meantime Governor Keith came into power, and he and his Council considered their case.* It was said that immunity had encouraged crime. They appealed to England, but before the appeal could be heard the sentence was executed.

The affair made a great excitement, especially in England, which was studiously fanned by the anti-Quaker party in Pennsylvania. That the lives of Englishmen could be taken by an unsworn jury was considered monstrous.

* Colonial Records, III., page 32.

The Assembly became alarmed at the threats to exclude Quakers from office by the imposition of oaths, and were ready to take advice of the Governor. He shrewdly intimated that they would secure favor at court by re-adopting the criminal laws of England so far as they would apply to Pennsylvania. Hence the act of 1718 "for the advancement of justice and the more certain administration thereof," the very act which as we have seen made an affirmation as good in law as an oath, contained also the authority to inflict the penalty of death upon a dozen crimes, including robbery, burglary, malicious maiming, arson, and manslaughter by stabbing, to which was afterward added counterfeiting.

This act was passed by a Quaker Assembly, drawn up by a Quaker lawyer, and its acceptance by the Crown brought with it a sense of relief and satisfaction to a Quaker community. The royal approbation was triumphantly announced by the Governor, securing on the one hand liberty to hold office without taking an oath, and on the other the great extension of capital punishment. Penn and his liberal penal code died in the same year. This act was in force till after the revolution. Not only was the existing law adopted as the Governor advised, "as the sum

and result of the experience of the ages," but persons convicted or attainted were to suffer "as the laws of England now do or hereafter shall direct." If there was any testimony in Quakerism against capital punishment, which there does not appear to have been prior to the Revolution, it was bartered, and the right to make laws was surrendered to the English power. That in defence of a principle fully accepted Friends could brave all dangers had been fully proven, and the only explanation of their anomalous position is that the taking of life judicially was not at that time an iniquity in their eyes. The question was one of expediency upon which a compromise could properly be made.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INDIANS.

No phase of early Pennsylvania history needs less defense than the Indian policy of the colonists. The "Great Treaty" at Shackamaxon has been immortalized by West on canvas and Voltaire in print, and historians have not hesitated to do it ample justice. The resulting seventy years of peace and friendship, as contrasted with the harassing and exterminating wars on the boundaries of nearly all the other colonies, attest its practical utility. The date of the treaty is more or less uncertain, its place rests on tradition, and its objects are not positively known.* It seems probable that it occurred in June, 1683, under the elm tree whose location is now marked by a stone, and that it was held for the double purpose of making a league of friendship and of purchasing lands.

There can be no doubt of Penn's benevolent intentions regarding the Indians. The Quaker

* "Pennsylvania Magazine," Vol. VI., pages 217 to 238. Article by Frederick D. Stone, which is frequently used in the succeeding pages.

doctrine of universal divine light seemed to give encouragement to do missionary work among them. George Fox again and again in his letters urges ministers to convey to the Indians the messages of Christ's life and death, and God's love for them.* The Indians responded as if they knew the reality of the indwelling of the Great Spirit. On that point their theory and that of the Quakers agreed, and this may have been the basis of the bond of sympathy which existed between them.

On the "18th of the Eighth month (October), 1681," the Proprietor sent by his cousin and deputy, William Markham, a letter† to the In-

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"You must instruct and teach your Indians and negroes and all others how that Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man, and gave himself a ransom for all men, and is the propitiation not for the sins of Christians only but for the sins of the whole world."—G. F., in 1679.

* "And God hath poured out his spirit upon all flesh, and so the Indians must receive God's spirit. . . . And so let them know that they have a day of salvation, grace and favor of God offered unto them; if they will receive it it will be their blessing."—G. F., in 1688.

† "My Friends: There is a great God and power that hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I and all people owe their being and well-being; to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we do in the world.

"This great God hath written his law in our hearts, by

dians, simple, brief and kindly, admirably adapted to dispose them favorably to him. He had been authorized by his charter "to reduce the savage nations by gentle and just manners to the love of civil society and Christian religion." He was evidently greatly interested in them, as his long and elaborate descriptions sent home on the basis of rather insufficient knowl-

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which we are commanded to live and help and do good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world, and the King of the country where I live hath given me a great province therein, but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbors and friends; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us not to devour and destroy one another but to live soberly and kindly together in the world? Now I would have you well observe that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that hath been too much exercised towards you by the people of these parts of the world; who have sought themselves, and to make great advantages by you rather than to be examples of goodness and patience unto you; which I hear hath been a matter of trouble to you, and caused great grudging and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood, which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man; as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard towards you; and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly; and if in anything any shall offend you you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same by an equal number of just men on both sides. . . ."

edge testify ; and he seems to have had great hopes of making acquisitions to Christianity among them.

He saw, however, that Christian sentiment alone would not advance the standard or even prevent the degradation of Indian morality. He knew at least partly the character of frontier traders, the valuable bargains to be obtained from a drunken Indian, and the weakness of Indian character in the face of sensual temptations. Whatever he could do to lessen these evils he stood ready to attempt. He refused an advantageous offer when he needed money badly lest he should barter authority to irresponsible people to the disadvantage of the Indian. "I did refuse a great temptation last Second-day, which was £6000 . . . to have wholly to itself the Indian trade from south to north between the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers. . . . But as the Lord gave it to me over all and great opposition . . . I would not abuse His love nor act unworthy of His providence, and so defile what came to me clean."*

There is additional proof of the correctness of this statement in a letter of one of the intending

* Hazard's "Annals of Pennsylvania," page 522.

purchasers, James Claypoole: "He (W. P.) is offered great things,—£6,000 for a monopoly in trade, which he refused. . . . I believe truly he does aim more at justice and righteousness and spreading of truth than at his own particular gain."

This was in 1681. In the same year he places in his "Conditions and Concessions" made with his purchasers of land the stipulations, that wrong-doers towards the Indians should be treated as if the misdeeds were against fellow-planters, that Indian criminals should be proceeded against before magistrates just as white criminals were, and that in cases of difference an arbitration committee of twelve, six Indians and six whites, should end them. He probably over-estimated the capacity and willingness of the Indians to adapt themselves to English customs, and the latter measure, apparently unworkable, was soon abandoned. But as an evidence of his desire for justice it is valuable.

William Penn had paid King Charles £16,000 for Pennsylvania. He recognized, however, the Indian claims to the same territory, and was ready to purchase them. Moreover, as he determined never to engage in warfare with the na-

tives, and was trustful in the efficacy of justice and reason to settle all disputes, he would begin with a friendly bargain with them for the land he was to occupy.

The purchase of lands of the Indians was no new thing. It had been frequently but not uniformly done in New England and New York. The early "Pennsylvania Archives" give several instances of such purchases in New Jersey. The Dutch and the Swedes had acquired title to lands in the same way in Pennsylvania. In fact it had become rather common, and Penn probably thought but little of the mere act of purchase.

What seems to have impressed the Indians was the fact that Penn insisted on purchase at the first and all subsequent agreements as being an act of justice, to which both parties were to give their assent voluntarily. They also felt that the price paid was ample to extinguish their claims, and that no advantages were taken by plying them with drink or cheating them with false maps. The treaties were open and honorable contracts, and not characterized by sharpness and chicanery. As the Indians reflected on them at their leisure they saw nothing to repent of, and everything to admire in the conduct of

Penn and his friends, and they preserved inviolably the terms to which they had solemnly agreed. They instinctively felt the honorable intentions and methods of "Onas," and handed down from generation to generation the belts of wampum which ratified the treaties, and the words of kindness and interest they heard from his mouth in the conferences between them. These traditions still exist in the West, and a band of Quaker Indians in Indian Territory is a testimony to their vitality. The Shawnese, forced from Pennsylvania, found a temporary home in Ohio, still keeping in touch with their Quaker friends, and when moved by the Government first to Kansas and then to the Indian Territory, made a request that their agents and teachers should be members of the Society which they and their ancestors had been able to trust.*

The first land purchased† of the Indians by

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* "American Friend," Vol. IV., page 79.

† The consideration paid by William Penn was :
350 fathoms of wampum.
20 white blankets.
20 fathoms of Strand waters (coats).
60 fathoms of Duffields (coats).
20 kettles.
20 guns.

Penn was on July 15th, 1682, before his arrival, when Markham conducted the negotiations. This was for a tract in the northern part of Bucks County, between the Delaware River and Neshaminy Creek.*

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20 coats.
40 shirts.
40 pairs of stockings.
40 hoes.
40 axes.
2 barrels of powder.
200 bars of lead.
200 knives.
200 small glasses.
12 pairs of shoes.
40 copper boxes.
40 tobacco tongs.
2 small barrels of pipes.
40 pairs of scissors.
40 combs.
24 pounds of red lead.
100 awls.
2 handfuls of fish hooks.
2 handfuls of needles.
40 pounds of shot.
10 bundles of beads.
10 small saws.
12 drawing knives.
4 anchors of tobacco.
2 anchors of rum.
2 anchors of cider.
2 anchors of beer.
300 gilders.

* "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. I., page 47.

Another tract adjoining this was sold* by Tamanen to William Penn, on June 23d, for "so much wampum, so many guns, shoes, stockings, looking glasses, blankets, and other goods as the said William Penn shall please to give unto me." At the same treaty other chiefs sold out their lands "to run two days' journey with an horse up into the country as the said river doth go" for a similar consideration. Other treaties of June 25th and July 14th, expressed in the same indefinite ways, conveyed to Penn all southeastern Pennsylvania.

It was probably the transaction of June 23d, 1683, which constituted the great treaty.† Penn writes shortly after, in a letter to the Free Society of Traders :

> I have had occasion to be in Council with them upon terms for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. . . . When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light. Which done, another made a speech to the Indians in the name of all the Sachamakers or kings; first to tell them what was done, next to charge and command them to love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me and the people under my government ; that many governors had been in the river, but that no gov-

* "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. I., page 62, et seq.

† "Pennsylvania Magazine," Vol. VI., page 218.

ernor had come to live and stay here before ; and having now such an one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong. At every sentence of which they shouted and said Amen, in their way.

While many of the details given by some earlier writers are imaginary, there seems to be no doubt from the above that a treaty covering sales of land and a compact of perpetual amity, answering well the established traditions on the subject, was held, and that West's picture does substantially represent a historical fact, and Voltaire's eulogium is deserved.

Nor has the effect upon the Indian mind been in any way exaggerated. Again and again, in subsequent negotiations, they refer to the arrangement with William Penn in terms of the greatest respect. 1712, in an interview with the Conestoga Indians, Indian Harry said* :

The Proprietor, Governor Penn, at his first coming amongst them, made an agreement with them that they should always live as friends and brothers, and be as one body, one heart, one mind, and as one eye and ear ; that what the one saw the other should see, and what the one heard the other should hear, and that there should be nothing but love and friendship between them and us forever.

In 1715, Sasoonan said : †

* "Colonial Records," Vol. II., page 578.

† "Colonial Records," Vol. II., page 628.

To prevent any misunderstanding, they now come to renew the former bond of friendship that William Penn had at his first coming made a clear and open road all the way to the Indians, that they desired the same might be kept open, and that all obstructions might be removed, of which on their side they will take care.

The chief of the five nations, in 1727, told the Governor* :

Governor Penn, when he came into this Province, took all the Indians by the hand ; he embraced them as his friends and brethren, and made a firm league of friendship with them ; he bound it as with a chain that was never to be broken ; he took none of their lands without paying for them.

Practically the whole of Pennsylvania was purchased of the Indians, some of it several times over. The Six Nations of New York claimed a suzerainty over the Pennsylvania Indians, and in this capacity Penn, in 1696, bought of them, or of the Governor of New York, acting for them, the lands on both sides of the Susquehanna throughout the whole Province.† The subject Indians, however, not feeling satisfied to be left out of the purchase, Penn explained that he was only buying the right of the Six Nations, which was thereby extinguished, and he laid the parch-

* "Colonial Records," Vol. III., page 288.

† "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. I., page 121.

ment on the ground between the red and white men to indicate joint ownership. In 1700, he bought over again the same lands "for a parcel of English goods," to the perfect satisfaction of the occupants.

During Penn's lifetime the relations continued so good that there was no difficulty in restraining unruly Indians. We find in the early minutes of the Council several complaints against Indians for stealing the settlers' hogs. The kings were sent for and presumably settled the matter.

Penn writes, in 1685, of the Indians :

> **If any of them break our laws they submit to be punished by them ; and to this they have tied themselves by an obligation under their hands.**

He was equally desirous to punish white trespassers on Indian rights. The great difficulty was to keep settlers off lands not already purchased. During his lifetime, he bought so far in advance of settlement that he managed to avoid any sense of injury on the part of the Indians. Later in the history of the Colony the problem became a serious one.

Another cause of complaint was the demoralization wrought by rum. The Indian was helpless in the presence of this ruinous beverage, and

that helplessness was an appeal to Christians to keep it from him.

Penn's cellar at Pennsbury was well stocked with liquors of various degrees of strength, which he dispensed with generous hospitality to his callers, whether Indian or white. He appears to have recognized very early the devastations wrought by rum among the Indians, and we do not find it given as one of the considerations for lands after the Markham purchase of 1682. An early law prohibited the sale of rum to the Indians, but in 1684 Penn informed his Council, that at the request of the chiefs he had consented to allow them to buy rum if they would take the same punishment for drunkenness as the English. This did not, however, last long, and in 1701 a very stringent law against selling strong liquors to the Indians was enacted.*

* Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, Vol. II., page 168: "Whereas our Proprietary and Governor and the representatives of the freemen of this Province and the territorie in General Assembly met, are still desirous to induce the Indian nations to the love of the Christian religion by the gentle, sober and just manners of professed Christians (under this government) towards them; and it being too obvious that divers persons within this Province have used and practiced the selling of rum, brandy and other strong liquors in such quantities to the Indians, many of whom

In the meantime the Quaker meetings had taken up the matter.

The Friends who had settled at Burlington in advance of Penn's purchase of Pennsylvania had very early seen the effects of the sale.* By 1685 the Yearly Meeting was convinced on the

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are not yet able to govern themselves in the use thereof (as by sad experience is too well known), that they are generally apt to drink to great excess, whereby they are not only liable to be cheated and reduced to great poverty and want, but sometimes inflamed to destroy themselves and one another, and terrify, annoy and endanger the inhabitants, and forasmuch as several Sachems and Sachemucks, kings of the Indian nations, have in their treaties with the Proprietary and Governor earnestly desired that no European should be permitted to carry rum to their towns, because of the mischiefs before expressed, and since these evil practices plainly tend to the great dishonor of God, scandal of the Christian religion, and hindrance to the embracing thereof, as well as drawing the judgment of God upon the country, if not timely prevented, for the prevention thereof for the future" :

[Section I. makes an absolute prohibition of all spirits by sale, barter, gift or exchange, and affixes a penalty of 10 pounds for each offence.

Section II. makes the testimony of one professed Christian sufficient for conviction.

Section III. forfeits all liquors carried to Indian towns.

Section IV. prohibits receiving any article of the Indians as pawn for strong drink, and forfeits the pawn.]

* "It was desired that Friends would consider the matter as touching the selling of rum unto the Indians [if it] be lawful at all for Friends professing Truth to be concerned in it."—Burlington Monthly Meeting, 1679.

subject, and "doth unanimously agree, and give as their judgment, that it is not consistent with the honor of Truth for any that make profession thereof to sell rum or other strong liquors to the Indians, because they use them not to moderation, but to excess and drunkenness." Two years later they say, if possible still more emphatically, it "is a thing contrary to the mind of the Lord, and a great grief and burden to his people, and a great reflection and dishonor on the Truth," and directed that the minute "be entered in every monthly meeting book, and every Friend belonging to said meeting subscribe the same." Even this did not seem to have rooted out the practice among some Friends, so in 1719 Monthly Meetings were directed to "deal with" (i.e., separate from membership if not repentant) those who sold directly or indirectly to the Indians. By this time it was a penal as well as a moral offense.

The Indian chiefs were sensible of the honesty of these efforts. In a conference held about 1687, one of them spoke as follows* :

> The strong liquor was first sold us by the Dutch, and they are blind ; they had no eyes, they did not see it was for our hurt. The next people that came among us were

* Janney's "Life of William Penn," page 123.

the Swedes, who continued the sale of the strong liquors to us ; they were also blind, they had no eyes, they did not see it to be hurtful to us to drink it, although we knew it to be hurtful to us ; but if people will sell it to us, we are so in love with it that we cannot forbear it. When we drink it, it makes us mad ; we do not know what to do ; we then abuse one another ; we throw each other into the fire. Seven score of our people have been killed by reason of drinking it, since the time it was first sold to us. These people that sell it have no eyes. But now there is a people come to live among us that have eyes ; they see it to be for our hurt ; they are willing to deny themselves the profit of it for our good. These people have eyes. We are glad such a people are come among us ; we must put it down by mutual consent ; the cask must be sealed up ; it must be made fast ; it must not leak by day or by night, in light or in the dark, and we give you these four belts of wampum, which we would have you lay up safe and keep by you to be witnesses of this agreement ; and we would have you tell your children that these four belts of wampum are given you to be witnesses, betwixt us and you, of this agreement.

At the time of the death of Penn the relations between the whites and Indians could not well be improved. While there were individual outrages on the Indians, and individual stealings from the whites, they were punished as completely as the circumstances would admit, and never produced ill feeling. The frontier was safe from marauders, tomahawks and scalping knives were unknown, and traders carried on their business with safety. A perfect confidence in the fairness of Penn and the Quakers existed

among the Indians, which in time deepened into an abiding respect.

As lands became more in demand for settlement, difficulties increased. But it was a different spirit in the white negotiators, rather than inherent perplexities, which drove the red men first to estrangement, then to hostility, then to bloody revenge, making them an easy prey to French machinations. Much was said at the time about the peace policy of the Quakers making the Province insecure against French and Indian attack. A more profound study would indicate that that insecurity was primarily caused by rank injustice to the Indians at the hands of the sons and successors of William Penn. A policy of peace and one of justice combined may be successful ; it is hardly fair, however, to provoke attack by iniquity and then saddle the inevitable consequences upon the lack of preparation for military resistance. Had the sons of Penn maintained the confidence and friendship of the Indians, an effective buffer against all hostile French designs would have existed, and Pennsylvania been spared the horrors of 1755 and succeeding years. This friendship, notwithstanding the increasing pressure on the Indian lands, might have been maintained,

had there been no deceitful measures which left the red man quiet but sullen, with a brooding sense of wrong, and desire for revenge. Even then he seems to have understood that the Quaker was his friend and shielded him in his frontier raids. It is said that only three members of that sect were killed by the Indians in the Pennsylvania troubles, and they had so far abandoned their ordinary trustful attitude as to carry guns in defense.*

Their were inherent difficulties in preventing rum being furnished to the Indians, and in keeping settlers off their hands. Charles Thomson † says, in the case of the rum, that while ample promises were held out to them, they were never kept. In 1722 the Indians told Governor Keith that they "could live contentedly and grow rich if it were not for the quantities of rum that is suffered to come among them contrary to what William Penn promised them." Again in 1727 they complain of traders who cheat them, and

* Dymond, "Essay on War."

† "An Enquiry into the Cause of the Alienation of the Indians," 1759. The facts which follow are mainly derived from this book. C. T. was afterwards secretary of the Continental Congress and author of a translation of the Bible.

give them rum and not powder and shot, so that the Indians nearly starve. The Governor in reply to this said he could not control traders, that Indians and whites all would cheat, and that they were at liberty to break in the heads of all rum casks. Such complaints came in continuously, and we can well understand were hard to deal with. In the matter of settlement of lands prior to purchase of the Indians, probably all was done that was possible. The Scotch-Irish and Germans were pressing in at a tremendous rate and cared nothing for Indian titles. It seemed to them absurd to allow Indians a great stretch of fertile land for hunting purposes only. Sometimes the settlers were removed, at other times the Indians were satisfied by payments, but they still felt aggrieved as they saw their lands melting away before the ubiquitous whites.

These causes, while adding to the general discontent, would not with proper management have produced serious disaffection had they not been re-enforced by a few cases of glaring injustice. The first of these was the notorious "Walking Purchase."

In a treaty in 1728 James Logan said that William Penn never allowed lands to be settled till purchased of the Indians. Ten years before

he had shown to their chiefs deeds covering all lands from Duck Creek, in Delaware, to the "Forks of the Delaware,"* and extending back along the "Lechoy Hills" to the Susquehanna. The Indians admitted this and confirmed the deeds, but objected to the settlers crowding into the fertile lands within the forks occupied by the Minisink tribe of the Delaware Indians. Logan accordingly forbade any surveying in the Minisink country. White settlers, however, were not restrained, and the Indians became still more uneasy. A tract of 10,000 acres sold by the Penns to be taken up anywhere in the unoccupied lands of the Province, was chosen here and opened for settlement. A lottery was established by the Proprietors, the successful tickets calling for amounts of land down to 200 acres, and many of these were assigned in the Forks, without Indian consent.

In order to secure undisputed possession and drive out the Delawares, who it must be remembered had always been more than friendly, a despicable artifice was resorted to, which will always disgrace the name of Thomas Penn. A deed of 1686 of doubtful authenticity was

* Between the Delaware and Lehigh Rivers, where Easton now stands.

produced, confirming to William Penn a plot of ground beginning on the Delaware river a short distance above Trenton, running west to Wrightstown, in Bucks county, thence northwest parallel to the Delaware River as far as a man could walk in a day and a half, which was no doubt intended to extend to the Lehigh hills, thence eastward by an undefined line, left blank in the deed, presumably along the hills to the Delaware River at Easton. It was one of numerous purchases of a similar character which in the aggregate conveyed to William Penn all southeastern Pennsylvania, and had with his careful constructions made no trouble. The walk, however, had never been taken, and in 1737 the Proprietors brought out the old agreement as a means of securing a title to the Minisink country.

The route was surveyed, underbrush cleared away, horses stationed to convey the walkers across the rivers, two athletic young men trained for the purpose, and conveyances provided for their baggage and provisions. Indians attended at the beginning, but after repeatedly calling to the men to walk, not run, retired in disgust. Far from stopping at the Lehigh Hills, they covered about sixty miles and extended the line thirty

miles beyond the Lehigh River. Then to crown the infamy, instead of running the northern line by any reasonable course they slanted it to the northeast and included all the Minisink country. It was a gross travesty on the original purchase, an outrageous fraud on the Indians, which they very properly refused to submit to. They remained in their ancestral homes, and sent notice they would resist removal by force. There unfortunately seems to be no doubt of the iniquity of the transaction. There is the testimony of at least two witnesses to the walk. It appears to have been a common subject of remark. Indifferent men treated it as sharp practice, and honest men were ashamed. But the Proprietors had a sort of a title to the fertile lands along the Delaware.

The outrage did not stop here. The Proprietors, probably knowing the temper of the Assembly, did not ask a military force to eject the Delawares. They applied to the Six Nations, who claimed all the Pennsylvania Indians as their subjects. In 1742 a conference was held in Philadelphia, where a large number of the chiefs of the various tribes were present. Presents worth £300 were given to the Six Nations,*

* "Colonial Records," Vol. IV., page 597, et seq.

and after hospitable entertainment of several days after the manner of the times, they were brought into conference with their tributary chiefs, the Governor, and his Council. The Iroquois sachem, after saying he had judicially examined the deeds, pronounced judgment in favor of the whites, and turning to the Delawares, who apparently had nothing to say, he addressed them : "Let this belt of wampum serve to chastise you ; you ought to be taken by the hair of the head and shaken severely till you recover your senses." Then with the bitterest taunts he proceeded : "But how came you to sell land at all ? We conquered you. We made women of you ; you know you are women, and can no more sell land than women. . . . For all these reasons we charge you to remove instantly. We don't give you liberty to think about it. You are women, take the advice of a wise man and remove immediately. . . . We assign you two places to go to, Wyoming or Shamokin. You may go to either of these places and then we shall have you more under our eye and shall see how you behave. Don't deliberate, but remove away and take this belt of wampum."

There was nothing for the Delawares to do but to obey. They saw that the league between

the whites and the Six Nations was irresistible. They placed them in the same category of enemies and bided their time. If in the Indian sense they had been women, that is, peaceful and trustful, they were soon to show that the injury had made them capable of coping with their dreaded Iroquois oppressors, and of sending the white frontiersmen fleeing in terror to towns and forts. But the cup of their injurious treatment was not yet full.

The Six Nations having completed their contract in removing the Delawares, demanded a reciprocal favor. The lands along the Juniata River had never been purchased, and were claimed by these New York Indians as a part of their imperial domain. Moreover they were valuable hunting grounds. But the whites were pressing in, and the government of Pennsylvania was asked to clear them out. They could not well object to the request, and an expedition was sent into the country which demanded the removal of the settlers and burned their buildings. The whites moved back as soon as the authorities were gone, and the old complaints were renewed.

No doubt the French were continually fomenting the disturbances. By artfully promis-

ing the recovery of lands and giving presents to chiefs, they were welding together most of the Indians except three nations of the Iroquois into a confederacy against the English. The Pennsylvanians, sensible of the danger, began to make counter presents, and here the Quaker Assembly and the Proprietors joined hands. It was a fortunate season for such Indians as could take advantage of the competition, but in the nature of things could not last.

Finally the Penns concluded at one stroke to extinguish all Indian titles to Western Pennsylvania. The rest was practically their own. The Indian chiefs were collected at Albany, and by means which will not bear examination were induced to sign the contract. It gave to the Proprietors all the land south and west of a line drawn from Shamokin to Lake Erie and extending to the extreme boundaries of the Province. The Indians said they were cheated ; some chiefs were privately bought; most of the Pennsylvania tribes were not represented and did not know what was going on ; they did not understand the compass courses, and did not know the extent of the sale ; they were told they were only clearing themselves of charges of having sold to the French or the people of Connecticut, who were

then making claims on the northern part of Pennsylvania. How much of this was true can not be certainly known. But when the Pennsylvania Indians became aware that they had been induced, by methods which seemed to them fraudulent, to sign away all their hunting grouds, the pent-up dissatisfaction of years came to a head. The grievances which the Proprietors and frontiersmen had heaped upon them seemed now a part of a settled policy. They felt excused from fulfilling the obligations they had assumed to William Penn and the Quakers, who, they rightfully conjectured, had nothing to do with these iniquities ; they joined heartily with the French in their hostilities, and shot down Braddock's army in the summer of 1755 with a right good will. The terrors of Indian warfare to which the other colonies had been subjected were now for the first time reproduced in Pennsylvania, and the effects of the "Holy Experiment" were ended.

The victory over Braddock turned all doubtful Indians into the ranks of the hostiles. The fall of 1755 and spring of 1756 were dire seasons for the frontiers of Pennsylvania. The burning of houses, the shooting down of men, the outrages on women and children, the flight

to places of safety, the demands for protection from government and friendly Indians,—from all these things the policy of William Penn had shielded the settlers for seventy-three years. The very tribes with which he had formed his treaties, which were always so warm in their friendships for him, which had been the victims of the "Walking Purchase," been branded as women by the Six Nations, and moved about from place to place,—the Delawares and the Shawnese,—now proved as fierce as any. All that the brilliant author of the History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac has said of their general peacefulness was disproved. When ill-treated they had their bloody revenge, exactly as in New England. They showed no lack of Indian spirit. Hitherto overcome by the superior numbers and organization of the Iroquois, they now under French tutelage and a sense of wrong turned on their oppressors and proved their equality in endurance, in resource and in cruelty. That Pennsylvania was saved by the just and pacific policy of the first settlers, and would have suffered just as the other colonies did by the reverse, seems as probable as any historical conclusion.

War was declared against these two tribes by the Governor and Council in the spring of 1756. This was the final act which drove the Quakers

from the Assembly. Rewards for scalps, one hundred and thirty "pieces of eight" for a man and fifty for a woman, were offered to friendly Indians and guerrilla whites, and a slightly larger amount for prisoners. But the scalps were more easily handled and prisoners were not brought in. The war raged primarily in the unpurchased and doubtful lands, in the Cumberland and Juniata Valleys, and in the "Forks of the Delaware," whither the Minisinks had returned to their old home.

The French were busy in the north, and could not do more to aid the Pennsylvania Indians than furnish them with supplies. Hence it seemed possible to detach the Delawares and Shawnese from the hostile alliance. For this purpose the "Friendly Association" was formed. This was composed of Quakers, now out of the government, but anxious to terminate the unfortunate warfare. They refused to pay war taxes, but pledged themselves to contribute in the interests of peace "more than the heaviest taxes of a war can be expected to require."

While this Association was objected to by the State authorities as an unofficial and to some extent an impertinent body, and charged with political motives, it succeeded in a remarkable way in bringing together the Indians and the

Government in a succession of treaties, which finally resulted in the termination of the war and the payment to the Indians of an amount which satisfied them for the land taken by the Walking Purchase and other dubious processes. Representatives of the Association, either by invitation of the Indians or of the Governor, were invariably present, and their largesses to the Indians much smoothed the way to pacific relations. As Israel Pemberton, a prominent member, said in 1758, after speaking of the misconstruction of their motives by various persons :

> If we can but be instrumental to restore peace to our country and retrieve the credit of it with our former kind neighbors, but of late bloody enemies, we shall have all the reward we desire. . . . It was by this [justice] the first settlers of the Province obtained their friendship, and the name of a Quaker of the same spirit as William Penn still is in the highest estimation among their old men, . . . and there's a considerable number of us here united in a resolution to endeavor by the like conduct to fix the same good impressions of all of us in the minds of the rising generation.*

Treaties were held at Easton in the summer and fall of 1756. Tedyuscung conducted the negotiations on behalf of the Six Nations, who in the main remainded friendly, and the Delawares. The Lieutenant-Governor and his

* "The Friend," Vol. XLVI., page 187.

Council were present. The Friendly Association requested to be allowed to send delegates, and were at first forbidden, but being doubtful either of the perfect wisdom or perfect sincerity of the Governor,* and finding that the Indians desired them, sent their deputation, and had important influence in securing a favorable conclusion.

Tedyuscung was very plain. "This very ground that is under me (striking it with his foot) was my land and inheritance, and is taken from me by fraud."† He went over the old grounds of complaint, but desired now to live in peace. The Council, with apparent intention to evade the real question, brought up the old decision of 1742, when the Six Nations chastised their "women," as evidence of the fairness of Proprietors, and proposed that they should, when they adjourned to Philadelphia, inquire into the matter and do what was right. This was evidently insincere. The Walking Purchase and its consequences were too well known to need further investigation, and so the commissioners acting for the Assembly seem to have known,

* "The Friend," Vol. XLVI., page 201. Letter of James Pemberton.

† "Colonial Records," Vol. VII., page 324.

for they advised settling the claims immediately. This was finally done. The Quakers added their present of clothing, and the Indians went off in better humor than for years.

This did not entirely stop hostilities on the sparse frontier. Scattered tribes still had private revenge or French designs to spur them on. But Tedyuscung, who was now a Christian, used his greatest endeavors to bring them one by one into friendly relations with the English, and a little interval of quiet allowed the disordered border to repair itself before another war again stirred up the Indians.

The year 1757 saw peace restored by the efforts of the heroic Moravian Christian, Frederic Post, sent out by the Friendly Association to the Ohio Indians, and by the capture of Fort Du-Quesne by General Forbes.

CHAPTER VII.

MILITARY MATTERS.

Of all Friendly ideas the most difficult to incorporate practically into government machinery was that of peace. The uncompromising views which most Quakers held as to the iniquity of all war, seemed to those outside the Society utopian if not absurd, and did not command the united support of its own membership. That justice and courtesy should characterize all dealings with other states, that no aggressive war could ever be justified, that in almost every case war could be honorably avoided, all were willing to endorse and practice, but a minority, probably a small minority, held that circumstances might arise when warlike defense was necessary and proper, and that the Sermon on the Mount was not to be interpreted any more literally when it commanded "Resist not evil" than when it commanded "Lay not up treasures on earth."

The general tenor of authoritative Quaker teaching, however, admitted no such interpretation. It is not found in the writings of Fox, Barclay, Penington or Penn. Their language

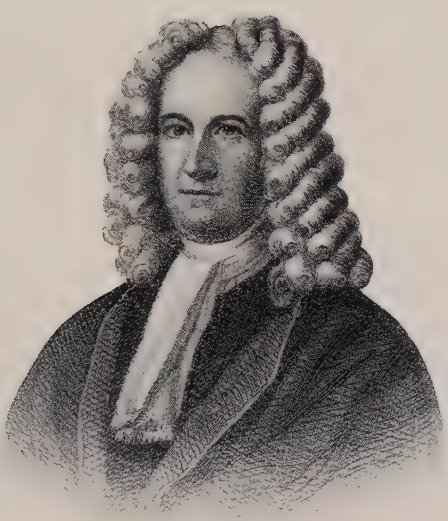
is always unequivocal in opposition to all war. The Quaker converts among Cromwell's soldiers, of whom there were not a few, left the ranks for conscience' sake as uniformly and as unhesitatingly as the Christian converts of the early centuries abandoned the Roman armies, with the plea, "I am a Christian, and therefore cannot fight."

"Not fighting, but suffering," says William Penn* in 1694, "is another testimony peculiar to this people. . . . . Thus as truth-speaking succeeded swearing, so faith and patience succeed fighting in the doctrine and practice of this people. Nor ought they for this to be obnoxious to civil government; since if they cannot fight for it neither can they fight against it, which is no mean security to any state. Nor is it reasonable that people should be blamed for not doing more for others than they can do for themselves."

We have important testimony to Penn's position in the unsympathetic statement of James Logan.† After expressing his own view that all government was founded on force, he says: "I

* "The Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers."

† "Pennsylvania Magazine," Vol. VI., page 404.



James Logan

was therefore the more surprised when I found my master on a particular occasion on our voyage hither (in 1699), though coming over to exercise the powers of it here in his own person, showed his sentiments were otherwise."* He adds that "Friends had laid it down as their principle, that bearing of arms, even for self-defense, is unlawful."

There seems therefore no doubt that the Society had with practical unanimity accepted military non-resistance in its most extreme form.

Not content with arguing on moral grounds against the unrighteousness of war, Penn elaborated, in 1693, a large scheme "of an European Dyet Parliament or Estates" to which disputes

* This refers to an incident mentioned in Franklin's Autobiography. When the vessel was thought to be about to be attacked by a hostile boat, Logan prepared to resist, while Penn and the other Friends retired to the cabin.

It seems strange that Logan should prior to this have been ignorant of Penn's views on defensive warfare, inasmuch as the treatise quoted above had been several years in print, and other writings published long prior were equally plain. But Logan was then only 26 years old, and though he says he "considered of it very closely before I engaged," his knowledge of Friends was probably limited. Indeed, he never felt such sympathy with Friends as to attend meetings for business with regularity.

When Penn took his young secretary to task for his hostile preparations on shipboard, Logan suggested rather unkindly that the objections were not stated till all danger was past.

should be presented for settlement. All nations were to be represented by Deputies, and the advantages of such a Court and the various expedients to make the decisions final and satisfactory are pressed with great wealth of suggestions.*

William Penn's mind was full of profound and comprehensive projects. Three years later he published a plan for the union of the American colonies, of course in dependence upon the English Crown. Two representatives were to meet in New York from each province at stated times to arrange for their common interests. They would settle all questions about the return of criminals, arrange details of commerce, and "consider ways and means to support the union and safety of these provinces against the public enemies." He was too early with this suggestion, but it would have preserved them from rather bitter controversies if it had been adopted.

It was easy to hold peace views as an academic proposition, supported by the spirit and letter of the New Testament; but when the actual problems of government arose how was this non-resistant principle to be applied to the protection

* This is published as a tract by the "Old South" Association of Boston.

of society against criminals ? This logical difficulty does not seem to have troubled the early Pennsylvanians. So far as appears they drew a line between police and military measures, making one effective and barring out the other. There was to them no contradiction to call for explanation. With strict logic they might have been driven to the position of Count Tolstoi, who carries his non-resistance so far as to object to all government, and all restraint on criminals. Or the line might be supposed to be drawn on the sacredness of human life, but, as we have seen, opposition to capital punishment, *per se*, never arose before the Revolution. Probably if pressed for an answer to the question why it was right to resist a street mob of subjects with police and not to resist an attacking force with soldiers, they would have replied that one act was in defence of life and property under authority of civil powers "ordained of God," and involving no iniquitous means, while all military measures necessarily included the destruction of life and property, of innocent as well as of guilty, and reversed the established rules of morality in sanctioning stealing, lying, and killing those who were not personally offenders.

The Quaker Assembly of 1740, in their

ethical controversy with Governor Thomas, argued thus : "And yet it is easy to discover the difference between killing a soldier fighting (perhaps) in obedience to the commands of his sovereign, and who may possibly think himself in the discharge of his duty, and executing a burglar who broke into our houses, plundered us of our goods, and perhaps would have murdered too if he could not otherwise have accomplished his ends, who must know at the time of the commission of the act, it was a violation of laws, human and divine, and that he thereby justly rendered himself obnoxious to the punishment which ensued."*

Penn did not hesitate to commend force in civil affairs when necessary. "If lenitives would not do, coercives should be tried; but though men would naturally begin with the former, yet wisdom had often sanctioned the latter as remedies which, however, were never to be adopted without regret," he wrote in 1700.† The whole machinery of courts and police was intended to be effective in resisting crime and criminals. All prisons were more or less work-houses, and the

* "Colonial Records," Vol. IV., page 373.

† Janney's "Life of Penn," page 441.

reformation idea had larger vogue than in some places, but there was no hesitation apparent to secure by force the ascendency of law.

The position they took was probably this : We will never do an injustice, provoke a war, or attack an enemy. If attacked we will, therefore, always be in the right. We cannot do wrong even to defend the right, but will trust that having done our duty, Providence will protect us. Beyond this we cannot go.*

Penn had authority by his Charter "to levy, muster and train all sorts of men of what condition or wheresoever born in the said province of Pennsylvania for the time being, and to make war and pursue the enemies and robbers aforesaid as well by sea as by land, yea even without the limits of said province, and by God's assistance to vanquish and take them, and being taken to put them to death by the law of war, or save them at their pleasure, and to do all and

* In a pamphlet printed in 1748 entitled, "The Doctrine of Christianity as held by the people called Quakers Vindicated," in answer to Gilbert Tennent's sermon on the "Lawfulness of War," substantially this position was taken. The pamphlet appeared anonymously, but is known to have been written by a Friend of prominence, closely connected with James Logan, who doubtless was expressing the recognized views of the Society. A copy is in the Philadelphia Library.

every act or thing which to the charge and office of a Captain-general belongeth, as fully and freely as any Captain-general of an army hath ever had the same."

These powers were doubtless ample for a peaceable Quaker. He could not exercise them himself without trampling on the views to which he was indelibly committed. The power to use them implied the power to transmit them, and this is just what Penn did.

He was in a delicate position. He was, as feudal lord of the province, liable to be called upon to support Britain's causes by force of arms against Britain's enemies. This he could not personally do, but if the Deputy-Governor had no conscience in the matter, Penn would not interpose to prevent obedience to the commands of the Crown. He selected non-Quaker deputies, and doubtless this consideration had its effect in inducing the choice. If some were inclined to criticize him for appointing others to perform acts he could not do himself, it must be remembered that deeds concerning whose culpability differences may properly exist, are evil or good for an individual, dependent on the attitude of his own conscience. The Friends never asked a man to violate conscience, and recognized the

differences due to education, enlightenment and mental constitution. If others honestly thought war right, it was right for them. Hence the actions of the Deputy were not of the character which involved evil-doing on his part, even though the same actions would have been evil for Penn himself. Such was Paul's attitude, and such was probably Penn's argument. What, however, seems a less defensible position, was that taken by him in 1694, as a pledge of the restoration of his government :

> At the Committee of Trade and Plantations, at the Council Chamber at Whitehall, the 1st and 3d of August, 1694. . . .
>
> The Committee being attended by Mr. Penn, who, having declared to their Lordships, that if their Majesties shall be graciously pleased to restore him to the Proprietary according to the said grants, he intends with all convenient speed to repair hither, and take care of the government and provide for the safety and security thereof, all that in him lyes. And to that end he will carefully transmit to the Council and Assembly there all such orders as shall be given by their Majesties in that behalf ; and he doubts not but they will at all times dutifully comply with and yield obedience thereunto, and to all such orders and directions as their Majesties shall from time to time think fit to send, for the supplying such quota of men, or the defraying their part of such charges as their Majesties shall think necessary for the safety and preservation of their Majesties' dominions in that part of America.

It is true William Penn only promised "to transmit to Council and Assembly" the orders

of the Crown, which was safe enough. But when he states "he doubts not" they will comply, the remark seems disingenuous. For he must have known that these Quaker bodies would do nothing of the kind. Indeed he, himself, about that time, was carefully explaining the general unrighteousness of these acts which he appears to expect his co-religionists will perform. It looks as if he intended to promise a course of action for the future, and then to unload this promise upon a body which would not redeem it.

The first trial of Quaker faith had, however, occurred prior to this, in 1689. The Crown had suggested that in order to defend the Colony against an attempted attack by the French, a militia should be formed. Governor Blackwell urged this, and he was supported by Markham and the non-Quaker portion of the Council. The Friends refused to have anything to do with it. They told the Governor that if he desired a militia he had power to create one, and they would not interfere if it did not offend any consciences.

John Simcock said: "I see no danger but from bears and wolves. We are well and in peace and quiet; let us keep ourselves so. I know not

but a peaceable spirit and that will do well. For my part I am against it clearly."

Samuel Carpenter said: "I am not against those that will put themselves into defence, but it being contrary to the judgment of a great part of the people, and my own, too, I cannot advise the thing nor express my liking for it. The king of England knows the judgment of Quakers in this case before Governor Penn had his Patent. If we must be forced to it I suppose we shall rather choose to suffer than to do it, as we have done formerly."

After much discussion the five Quaker members of Council asked leave to retire for a conference. On their return they announced, "We would not tie others' hands, but we cannot act. We would not take upon us to hinder any, and do not think the Governor need call us together in this matter. . . . We say nothing against it, and regard it as a matter of conscience to us. . . . I had rather be ruined than violate my conscience in this case."* The matter was dropped.

Again in 1693, Governor Fletcher, who was

* "Colonial Records," Vol. II., page 470.

Samuel Carpenter, who expressed this sentiment, was adjudged the richest man in the Province.

also Governor of New York, in the interval of Penn's deposition, asked the Assembly for money to support a war against the French and Indians of Canada, which had been raging on their frontiers. He knew the difficulties. "If there be any among you that scruple the giving of money to support war, there are a great many other charges in that government for the support thereof, as officers' salaries. . . . Your money shall be converted into these uses and shall not be dipt in blood."* Upon the basis of this promise, after some delay, the money was voted.

In May, 1695, a requisition was made on Pennsylvania for eighty men with officers for the defence of New York. The Council advised calling together the Assembly, but not until harvest was over. The Assembly united with the Council in refusing the bald request, reminding the Governor of Fletcher's promise that the last appropriation should not "be dipt in blood," but should be used "to feed the hungry and clothe the naked" Indians, and suggested that such of it as had not been used as promised should go towards the present emergency. The Council finally offered two bills, one to make an appro-

* "Colonial Records," Vol. I., page 361.

priation, and one to demand a return to Penn's Frame of Government, which was held in abeyance since his return to power. As the Governor had to take both or neither he dissolved the Assembly. A year later he was willing to make the required concession, and urged that the money was needed in New York "for food and raiment to be given to those nations of Indians that have lately suffered extremely by the French, which is a fair opportunity for you, that for conscience cannot contribute to war, to raise money for that occasion, be it under the color of support of government or relief of those Indians or what else you may call it." The Assembly made the necessary vote and the Constitution of 1696 was obtained in payment.

The next time the pacific principles of the Assembly were tried was in 1701, when the English Government asked for £350 for the purpose of erecting forts on the frontiers of New York on the plea that they were for the general defence. Penn, who was then in the Province, faithfully observed his promise "to transmit," but declined to give any advice to the Assembly. The members were evidently greatly agitated, and repeatedly asked copies of his speech, which was in fact only the King's letter. After some

fencing two reports appeared. One, from the Pennsylvania delegates, urged their poverty, owing to taxes and quit-rents, also the lack of contributions of other colonies, but added plainly, "We desire the Proprietor would candidly represent our conditions to the King, and assure him of our readiness (according to our abilities) to acquiesce with and answer his commands *so far as our religious persuasions shall permit*, as becomes loyal and faithful subjects so to do."* The other answer came from the Delaware portion of the Assembly, excusing themselves because they had no forts of their own.

When the Assembly met, a month later, Penn again referred to the King's letter, but nothing was done, and the matter was not pressed.

Governor Evans made several attempts to establish a militia, but the Assembly refused any sanction, and the voluntary organizations were failures.

The military question came up in 1709 in a more serious form. An order came from the Queen to the various colonies to furnish quotas of men at their own expense towards an army to invade Canada. New York was to supply 800, Connecticut 350, Jersey 200, and Pennsylvania

* "Colonial Records," Vol. II., page 26.

150. In transmitting the order Governor Gookin, who evidently anticipated difficulty, suggested that the total charge would be about £4,000. He says, "Perhaps it may seem difficult to raise such a number of men in a country where most of the inhabitants are of such principles as will not allow them the use of arms; but if you will raise the sum for the support of government, I don't doubt getting the number of men desired whose principles will allow the use of arms."*

This was too manifest an evasion for the Assembly to adopt. Its first answer was to send in a bill of grievances. The opportunity was too good to be lost, and David Lloyd, then Speaker, made the most of it.

In the meantime the Quaker members of the Council met some of their co-religionists of the Assembly "and there debated their opinions freely and unanimously to those of the House, that notwithstanding their profession and principles would not by any means allow them to bear arms, yet it was their duty to support the government of their sovereign, the Queen, and to contribute out of their estates according to the exigencies of her public affairs, and therefore

* "Colonial Records," Vol. II., page 740.

they might and ought to present the Queen with a proper sum of money."*

The Assembly the next day sent an address to the Governor which said, "Though we cannot for conscience' sake comply with the furnishing a supply for such a defence as thou proposest, yet in point of gratitude of the Queen for her great and many favors to us we have resolved to raise a present of £500 which we humbly hope she will be pleased to accept, etc., etc." †

To this the Governor replied that he would not sign the bill. If the Assembly would not hire men to fight, there was no scruple which would prevent a more liberal subscription to the Queen's needs. The Assembly was immovable, and asked to be allowed to adjourn, as harvest time was approaching.

The Governor refused consent, when the House abruptly terminated the whole matter.

Resolved, N.C.D., That this House cannot agree to the Governor's proposal, directly or indirectly, for the expedition to Canada, for the reasons formerly given.

Resolved, N.C.D., That the House do continue their resolution of raising £500 as a present for the Queen, and do intend to prepare a bill for that purpose at their next meeting on the 15th of August next, and not before.‡

* "Colonial Records," Vol. II., page 478.

† Ibid., 479. ‡ Ibid., 486.

The House then adjourned without waiting for the Governor's consent.

The Governor sadly admitted that nothing could be done with such an Assembly, and gave a rather facetious but truthful account in a letter to London, two months later. "The Queen having honored me with her commands that this Province should furnish out 150 men for its expedition against Canada, I called an Assembly and demanded £4,000; they being all Quakers, after much delay resolved, N.C., that it was contrary to their religious principles to hire men to kill one another. I told some of them the Queen did not hire men to kill one another, but to destroy her enemies. One of them answered the Assembly understood English. After I had tried all ways to bring them to reason they again resolved, N.C., that they could not directly or indirectly raise money for an expedition to Canada, but they had voted the Queen £500 as a token of their respect, etc., and that the money should be put into a safe hand till they were satisfied from England it should not be employed for the use of war. I told them the Queen did not want such a sum, but being a pious and good woman perhaps she might give it to the clergy sent hither for the propagation of the Gospel; one of them answered that was

worse than the other, on which arose a debate in the Assembly whether they should give money or not, since it might be employed for the use of war, or against their future establishment, and after much wise debate it was carried in the affirmative by one voice only. Their number is 26.* They are entirely governed by their speaker, one David Lloyd."†

The service performed by "one David Lloyd" to the integrity of the Quaker testimony against war is strikingly revealed in this letter. The Assembly, more emphatically than the official records show, took effective measures to maintain their position with perfect consistency.

In 1711 a similar request was made by the Government, and in response £2,000 was voted for the Queen's use. This money never aided any military expedition, but was appropriated by a succeeeding Governor to his own use, and the fact was used as an argument in 1740 against similar grants.‡

"We did not see it," Isaac Norris says, in 1711, "to be inconsistent with our principles to

* Eight from each county and two from Philadelphia.

† "Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, Pennsylvania," page 51.

‡ "Colonial Records," Vol. IV., page 366, et seq.

give the Queen money notwithstanding any use she might put it to, *that* not being our part but hers."

Then followed the thirty-years peace, when no calls for military service or money were made. Occasionally the Governor would think it necessary to establish a militia, when the Assembly would caution him to make it purely voluntary and force no conscience. There were friendly relations with the Indians. No European troubles necessitated money or troops for Canadian attack or defense. But, beginning with 1737, the gradual alienation of the Indian tribes made a disturbed frontier ready to be dangerous at the first outbreak of war, and new conditions prevailed.

Hitherto the relation of the Friends to these inevitable military solicitations had been largely that of passivity. They would not interfere with the movements of those who desired to form military companies. If the Governor chose to engage in the arming and drilling of voluntary militia, he had his commission from the Proprietors, and they from the Charter of Charles II. It was no matter for the Assembly. The meeting organizations would endeavor to keep all Quakers from any participation in these un-Friendly proceedings, and the Quaker Assembly-

men had their own consciences to answer to, as well as their ecclesiastical authorities, if they violated pacific principles.

When it came to voting money in lieu of personal service, the legislators had a difficult road to follow. If the government needed aid, it was their duty, in common with the other colonies, to supply it. Even though the need was the direct result of war, as nearly all national taxes are, they were ready to assume their share of the burden. Caesar must have his dues as well as God, and a call for money, except when coupled directly with a proposition to use it for military attack or defense, was generally responded to, after its potency as an agent in procuring a little more liberty was exhausted. They would not vote money for an expedition to Canada or to erect forts, but they would for "the King's use," using all possible securities to have it appropriated to something else than war expenses. The responsibility of expenditure rested on the King. There were legitimate expenses of government, and if these were so inextricably mingled with warlike outlay that the Assembly could not separate them, they would still support the Government.

It is easy to accuse them of inconsistency in the proceedings which follow. It was a most

unpleasant alternative thrust before honest men. The responsibility of government was upon them as the honorable recipients of the popular votes. Great principles, the greatest of all in their minds being freedom of conscience, were at stake. Each call for troops or supplies they fondly hoped would be the last. Their predecessors' actions had secured the blessings of peace and liberty to Pennsylvania for sixty years, and if they were unreasonably stringent, their English enemies held over their heads the threat to drive them from power by the imposition of an oath. Then the persecutions of themselves and their friends, which their forefathers had left England to avoid, might be meted out to them, and the Holy Experiment brought to an end.

Nor is it necessary to assume that their motives were untirely unselfish. They had ruled the Province well, and were proficients in government. Their leaders doubtless loved the power and influence they legitimately possessed, and they did not care to give it away unnecessarily. They tried to find a middle ground between shutting their eyes to all questions of defense on the one side, and direct participation in war on the other. This they sought by a refusal for themselves and their friends to do any service personally, and a further refusal to vote money except

in a general way for the use of the government. If any one comes to the conclusion that during the latter part of the period of sixteen years now under consideration the evasion was rather a bald one, it is exactly the conclusion the Quakers themselves came to, and they resigned their places as a consequence. The iniquities of others over whom they had no control brought about a condition where Quaker principles would not work, and they refused to modify them in the vain attempt. For a time rather weakly halting, when the crucial nature of the question became clear, and either place or principle had to be sacrificed, their decision was in favor of the sanctity of principle.

They were on the popular side of the questions of the day, in close association with Benjamin Franklin and others. The fact that these allies in their other battles were unwilling to stand by them on this question made their position especially difficult. They, however, always carried the popular Assembly against all combinations.

In 1739, urged by the Proprietors, the Governor presented to the Assembly the dangers of the defenceless condition of the Province in the approaching war with Spain and asked for the establishment of a militia.

This opened the way to an interchange of long

argumentative papers between Governor and Assembly in which the positions of the two parties were laid down with considerable ability. The Assembly said: "As very many of the inhabitants of this Province are of the people called Quakers, who, though they do not as the world is now circumstanced condemn the use of arms in others, yet are principled against it themselves, and to make any law against their consciences to bear arms would not only be to violate a fundamental in our constitution and be a direct breach of our charter of privileges, but would also in effect be to commence persecution against all that part of the inhabitants of the Province, and should a law be made which should compel others to bear arms and exempt that part of the inhabitants, as the greater number in this Assembly are of like principles, would be an inconsistency with themselves and partial with respect to others, etc."*

To this the Governor replied that no religious opinions would protect the country against an invading force, and as representatives of the whole people, not of a denomination, they must defend the Province from external enemies as they did from criminals within, and that there

* Col. Rec., Vol. IV., p. 366, et seq.

was no intention to force any one's conscience. Their reliance on Providence without doing their whole duty was as futile as if they expected to reap without sowing, or protect their vessels from the waves without seamanship.

The Assembly reminded him that the Province had prospered under Quaker management for a number of years before he had anything to do with it, and would in the future, if his misrepresentations should not prevail in England, even "though some Governors have been as uneasy and as willing and ready to find fault and suggest dangers as himself."

The Governor in despair replies: "If your principles will not allow you to pass a bill for establishing a militia, if they will not allow you to secure the navigation of a river by building a fort, if they will not allow you to provide arms for the defence of the inhabitants, if they will not allow you to raise men for his Majesty's service for distressing an insolent enemy . . . . . is it a calumny to say your principles are inconsistent with the ends of government?"

After pages of argument, which the curious reader will find detailed in Colonial Records, Vol. IV., the Assembly refused to do anything.*

* "I looked over several messages and votes of your

Governor Thomas, under royal instructions, approached the same subject a year later with a similar result. A voluntary company was, however, organized and supplied by private subscriptions. This took away from their masters a number of indentured servants, whose time was thus lost, and in voting £3,000 for the King's use the Assembly made it a condition that such servants such be discharged from the militia and no more enlisted. The Governor refused to accept it, and in wrath wrote a letter to the Board of Trade not intended for home reading, berating the Quakers for disobedience, stating

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House of Representatives, and if I may be permitted to give my opinion of the management of your controversy with the Governor, I can scarcely upon the whole forbear to take his side. Your cause is undoubtedly good, but I am afraid you discover a little more warmth than is quite consistent with the moderation we profess. The provocations I confess are great, and more than flesh and blood can well sustain, but there is a rock which many of you know where to seek, but to which he discovers himself to be a perfect stranger. The argument made use of by the assembly are strong and cogent, but he justly accuses you of too much acrimony. Truth never appears more agreeable than when dressed with mildness and temper. . . . And be pleased to remember that a deference is due to a magistrate in some sense, though a wicked one, and in every set of opposition to his measures, plainness and inoffensive simplicity are the principal ones we can manage."—Dr. Fothergill to Israel Pemberton, Second month 8th, 1742.

how they had neglected following his advice to withdraw themselves from the Assembly, but had rather increased their majority there. He advised that they be refused permission to sit there in the future. A copy of this letter was secured by the Assembly's agent in England, and great was their indignation. The disturbances culminated in an election riot in Philadelphia in 1742 in which both sides used force, the Quaker party having the best of it and electing Isaac Norris. They re-elected their ticket, with the aid of the Germans, and controlled the Assembly by an overwhelming majority. To show their loyalty they voted a considerable sum for the King's use, but refused Governor Thomas any salary till he had given up his pretentious show of power and signed a number of bills to which he had objected. After this he worked very harmoniously with them till 1746.

In 1744 he used his authority as Captain-General in organizing a voluntary force said by Franklin to amount to 10,000 men. On this the Assembly took no action.

The next year the Governor asked them to aid New England in an attack on Cape Breton. They told him they had no interest in the matter. He called them together again in harvest time to ask them to join in an expedition against Louis-

burg. A week later came word that Louisburg had surrendered, and the request was transferred to a call for aid in garrisoning the place, and in supplying provisions and powder. The Assembly replied that the "peaceable principles professed by divers members of the present Assembly do not permit them to join in raising of men or providing arms and ammunition, yet we have ever held it our duty to render tribute to Cæsar." * They therefore appropriated £4,000 for "bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat or other grain." The Governor was advised not to accept the grant, as provisions were not needed. He replied that the "other grain" meant gunpowder. and so expended a large portion of the money,† There is probably no evidence that the Assembly sanctioned this construction, though they never so far as appears made any protest.

Again in 1746 aid was asked of the Assembly towards an expedition against Canada. After forcing the Governor to yield the point as to how the money should be raised, they appropriated £5,000 "for the King's use."

This seems to have been the attitude of the Quaker Assembly for the ten years to come.

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* "Colonial Records," Vol. IV., page 769.

† This is on the authority of Franklin.

Again and again did the successive Governors call for military appropriations. As often did the Quaker Assembly express a willingness to comply provided the money was obtained by loans to be repaid in a term of years rather than by a tax. The governors said their instructions prevented their sanction to this proceeding, and except when the necessity was urgent refused to permit the bill to be enacted into a law. The Assembly frequently reminded the Governor that they were unable to vote any money for warlike purposes, and personally would contribute nothing in the way of service, but that they were loyal subjects of the King and acknowledged their obligations to aid in his government. Had they granted regular aid, war or no war, their position would have been greatly strengthened, but being given "for the King's use" in direct response to a call for military assistance, knowing perfectly how the money was to be expended, they cannot be excused from the charge of a certain amount of shiftiness. The effect, however, was to save their fellow-members in the Province from compulsory military service, and from direct war taxes. They thus shielded the consciences of sensitive Friends, preserved their charter from Court attack, broke down the worst evils of proprietary pretensions,

and secured large additions of liberty. Whether or not the partial sacrifice of principle, if so it was, was too high a price for these advantages, was differently decided in those days, and will be to-day. An unbending course would but have hastened the inevitable crisis.

That they paid these taxes unwillingly and were generally recognized as true to their principles is evidenced by many statements of their opponents. In 1748 the Council writes to the Governors of New York and Massachusetts asking for cannon for the voluntary military companies then forming through Benjamin Franklin's influence, and says, "As our Assembly consists for the most part of Quakers principled against defence the inhabitants despair of their doing anything for our protection."* Again later Thomas Penn writes on the same subject: "I observe the Assembly broke up without giving any assistance, which is what you must have expected."† This belief that the Quakers in the Assembly would not do anything for the armed defence of the Province was general both in England and America.

The Assembly in this attitude was always sup-

* Colonial Records," Vol. V., page 207.

† "Colonial Records," Vol. V., page 241.

ported by the people. The members were re-elected, after the most cutting criticisms of the Governor and Council, by undiminished majorities, in open elections. The Friends were now in a small minority of the population, but during all this time they had three-fourths of the Assembly. They could afford to refer their critics to their constituents with confidence. "What motives could we possibly have for judging amiss? Have we not also estates and families in the Province? . . . Have not divers of our fathers and some of our grandfathers been of the first settlers? . . . If we have committed any mistakes the time draws near in which our constituents, if they think it necessary, may amend their choice. And the time also draws nigh in which your (the Council's) mistakes may be amended by a succeeding governor. Permit us to congratulate our country on both."*

In 1754 the Governor, at the instance of the Proprietors, who anticipated the French and Indian troubles on the western frontier, endeavored to induce the Assembly to pass a bill for compulsory military service for those not con-

* "Colonial Records," Vol. V., page 342.

scientious about bearing arms.* He evidently did not expect much. "As I am well acquainted with their religious scruples I never expected they would appropriate money for the purpose of war or warlike preparation, but thought they might have been brought to make a handsome grant for the King's use, and have left the disposition of it to me, as they have done on other occasions of like nature,"† he wrote to Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia. "But," a few months later he added, "I can see nothing to prevent this very fine Province, owing to the absurdity of its constitution and the principles of the governing part of its inhabitants, from being an easy prey to the attempts of the common enemy."‡

This was after the Assembly had voted £10,000, but coupled the grant with conditions the Governor would not accept.

While they were debating the question Braddock came into the country as commander of the combined forces in an expedition against Fort DuQuesne. Pressure came down strong and heavy on the Quaker Assembly. Their

* "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. II., page 189.

† "Colonial Records," Vol. VI., page 2.

‡ Ibid., page 49.

own frontier was invaded. Their own Indians, as a result of the wicked and foolish policy of their executive, were in league with the invaders. All classes were excited. To aid the great expedition which at one stroke was to break the French power and close the troubles was felt to be a duty. Franklin diligently fanned the warlike spirit, procuring wagons for the transfer of army stores, and was extremely valuable to the expedition at some cost to himself.

The Governor wrote to Braddock telling him they had a Province of 300,000 people, provisions enough to supply an army of 100,000, and exports enough to keep 500 vessels employed. They had no taxes, a revenue of £7,000 a year and £15,000 in bank, yet would neither establish a militia nor vote men money or provisions, notwithstanding he had earnestly labored with the Assembly, and he was ashamed of them. He does not explain that they had repeatedly offered sums of money, but that he would not accept the conditions. As Braddock himself admitted, Pennsylvania had supported him quite as liberally as Virginia. This was partly done by private enterprise and partly by appropriations of the Assembly, to reward friendly Indians, to open a road to Ohio, and to provision the troops.

Braddock was defeated. The Indians were let loose on the frontiers. Daily accounts of harrowing scenes came up to the Council and Assembly.* Settlers moved into the towns and many districts were depopulated. Strong were the expressions of wrath against the Quakers, who were held responsible for the defenceless state of the Province.†

This was hardly a just charge, even from the standpoint of those who favored military defence, for the Assembly had signified its willingness to vote £50,000, an unprecedented amount, to be provided by "a tax on all the real and personal estates within the Province," which the Governor refused to accept. While the matter was in abeyance the time for the new election of Assemblymen came around, and both parties, except the stricter Quakers, who were becoming alarmed, put forth their greatest exertions. The old Assembly was sustained, the Friends, with those closely associated with them, having twenty-six out of the thirty-six members.

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* Votes of Assembly, Vol. IV., pages 481, 699.

† The people exclaim against the Quakers, and some are scarce restrained from burning the houses of those few who are in this town (Reading).—Letter of Edmund Biddle, "Colonial Records," Vol. VI., page 705.

The new House went on with the work of the old. They adopted a militia law for those "willing and desirous" of joining companies for the defence of the Province. This is prefaced by the usual declaration: "Whereas this Province was settled (and a majority of the Assembly have ever since been) of the people called Quakers, who though they do not as the world is now circumstanced condemn the use of arms in others, yet are principled against bearing arms themselves,"* explaining also that they are representatives of the Province and not of a denomination, they proceed to lay down rules for the organization of the volunteers. After the Proprietors had given their £5,000 the Assembly also voted £55,000 for the relief of friendly Indians and distressed frontiersmen, "and other purposes," without any disguise to the fact that much of it was intended for military defence, though it was not so stated in the bill. Before this was done, while they were still insisting on taxing the Penn estates, in answer to the charge that they were neglectful of public interests, secure in the confidence of their constituents just most liberally given, they say: "In fine we have the most sensible concern for the poor

* "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. I., page 516.

distressed inhabitants of the frontiers. We have taken every step in our power, consistent with the just rights of the freemen of Pennsylvania, for their relief, and we have reason to believe that in the midst of their distresses they themselves do not wish to go further. *Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety.*"* Their position definitely was, We will vote money liberally for defensive purposes, but we will take care to secure our rights as freemen, and we will not require any one to give personal service against his conscience.

The money was largely spent in erecting and garrisoning a chain of forts extending along the Kittatinny hills from the Delaware River to the Maryland frontier.*

The amount of defense the Assembly had provided, while probably expressing the will of their constituents, did not satisfy the more peace-loving of the Friends on the one hand, nor the advocates of proprietary interests on the other.

In Eleventh month 1755 twenty Friends, including Anthony Morris, Israel and John Pem-

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* Votes of Assembly, Vol. IV., page 501.

* "Pennsylvania Magazine," July, 1896. Dr. Stillé on "The Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania."

berton, Anthony Benezet, John Churchman, and others, representing the most influential and "weighty" members of the Yearly Meeting, addressed the Assembly. They say they are very willing to contribute to taxes to cultivate friendship with Indians, to relieve distress, or other benevolent purposes, but to expect them to be taxed for funds which are placed in the hands of committees to be expended for war, is inconsistent with their peaceable testimony, and an infringement of their religious liberties. Many Friends will have to refuse to pay such a tax and suffer distraint of goods,* and thus "that free enjoyment of liberty of conscience for the sake of which our forefathers left their native country and settled this then a wilderness by degrees be violated." "We sincerely assure you we have no temporal motives for thus addressing you, and could we have preserved peace in our own minds and with each other we should have declined it, being unwilling to give you any unnecessary trouble and deeply sensible of your difficulty in discharging the trust committed to you irreproachably in these perilous times, which hath engaged our fervent desires that the immediate instruction of supreme wisdom may in-

* This afterwards happened in numerous cases.

fluence your minds, and that being preserved in a steady attention thereto you may be enabled to secure peace and tranquillity to yourselves and those you represent by pursuing measures consistent with our peaceable principles, and then we trust we may continue humbly to confide in the protection of that Almighty Power whose providence has hitherto been as walls and bulwarks round about us."*

As the Assembly was composed, this was an earnest plea from the responsible Friends to their fellow religionists to stand uncompromisingly by their principles. It was not very kindly received. The reply indicated that the signers had no right to speak for others than themselves, that they had not duly considered the customs of the past, particularly the grant of £2,000 in 1711, and the address "is therefore an unadvised and indiscreet application to the House at this time." Four members of the Assembly dissent from this reply.†

On the other hand we have a strong petition sent about the same date to the King, signed by numerous influential men in Philadelphia, stat-

* Votes of Assembly, Vol. VI., page 530.

† "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. II., page 487.

ing that the Province was entirely bare to the attack of enemies, "not a single armed man, nor, at the public expense, a single fortification to shelter the unhappy inhabitants." . . . "We have no hopes of seeing the grievances redressed here while a great majority of men whose avowed principles are against bearing arms find means continually to thrust themselves into the Assembly of this Province." They ask the interposition of royal authority to insist on proper defence being provided.*

The attorneys for the petitioners before the Board of Trade made the most sweeping and unfounded charges, full of errors of fact and unconcealed animus, and ending with the recommendation "that the King be advised to recommend it to his Parliament that no Quaker be permitted to sit in any Assembly in Pennsylvania or any part of America," and that this result should be produced by the imposition of an oath.

In the minds of the Friends the crisis was reached when the Governor and Council (William Logan, son of James Logan, only dissenting) in the spring of 1756 declared war against the Delaware Indians, the old allies and friends

* "Pennsylvania Magazine," Vol. X., page 283, et seq. Article by Dr. Stillé.

of William Penn, but now in league with the French and killing and plundering on the frontiers. They were quite sure that peaceful and just measures would detach the Indians from their alliance, and that war was unnecessary. The lines were becoming more closely drawn, and the middle ground was narrowing, so that it was impossible to stand upon it. Either the principle of the iniquity of war must be maintained in its entirety, or war must be vigorously upheld and prosecuted. Some Friends with Franklin took the latter position, but the great majority closed up their ranks around the principle of peace in its integrity. In Sixth month 1756 six of the old members of the house, James Pemberton, Joshua Morris, William Callender, William Peters, Peter Worral and Francis Parvin, resigned their seats, giving as their reason, "As many of our constituents seem of opinion that the present situation of public affairs calls upon us for services in a military way, which from a conviction of judgment after mature deliberation we cannot comply with, we conclude it most conducive to the peace of our minds, and the reputation of our religious profession to persist in our resolution of resigning our seats, which we now accordingly do, and request these our reasons may be entered on the minutes of the

house."* In the same fall several other Friends declined re-election, and after the next House assembled four others, Mahlon Kirkbride, William Hoyl, Peter Dicks and Nathaniel Pennock, also resigned. "Understanding that the ministry have requested the Quakers, who from the first settlement of the Colony have been the majority of the Assemblies of this Province, to suffer their seats during the difficult situation of the affairs of the Colonies to be filled by members of other denominations in such manner as to perform without any scruples all such laws as may be necessary to be enacted for the defence of the Province in whatever manner they may judge best suited to the circumstances of it; and notwithstanding we think this has been pretty fully complied with at the last election, yet at the request of our friends, being willing to take off all possible objection, we who have (without any solicitation on our part) been returned as representatives in this Assembly, request we may be excused, and suffered to withdraw ourselves and vacate our seats in such manner as may be attended with the least trouble and most satisfactory to this honorable House."†

* Votes of Assembly, Vol. IV., page 564.

† Votes of Assembly, Vol. IV., page 626.

The places of all these Friends were filled by members of other religious denominations, and Quaker control over and responsibility for the Pennsylvania Assembly closed with 1756 and was never resumed.

The circumstances which led up to this action within the Society of Friends will be detailed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LAST DAYS OF QUAKER CONTROL OF THE ASSEMBLY.

So far as any records show there was only one opinion on the subject of war among those authorized to speak in the first century of the existence of the Society of Friends. There was nothing to call out any vigorous restatement of peace doctrine in Philadelphia during the early decades of the eighteenth century. Running through the history we find it accepted as an established fact not needing formal confirmation that Quakerism and peace were indispensably and logically associated.*

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* One can only wonder what troubled the Burlington Friends so early as 1682.

"At our mens Monthly meeting held in Burlington in y^e^ House of Robt Young y^e^ 4th of y^e^ 10th month : . . . .

"In y^e^ behalf of truth & y^e^ Blessed name of y^e^ Lord y^e^ which we make a profession of thought meet to write to our friends of y^e^ monthly meeting of Upland. & marcus Hook y^t^ they together with William Penn would be pleased to give this meeting an Account Concerning y^e^ report of y^e^ preperation for War wch. God in his mercy hath Given us a Testimony a gainst y^t^ we may Know what Satisfaction they Can give y^e^ Meeting therein. Sam^l^ Jennings & Robt. Stacy to Draw up a paper to y^t^ meeting Con Cearning it."

In the fall of 1739 the Yearly Meeting saw the storm coming. A committee was appointed to draw up a paper exhorting Friends to continue in peace principles "and in no manner to join with such as may be for making warlike preparations, offensive or defensive, but on all occasions to demean themselves in a Christian and peaceable manner, thereby to demonstrate to the world that our practices, when we are put to the trial, correspond with our principles."

The next year, in view of the complaint made to the King by Governor Thomas and his friends, they appointed a committee "to state the occasions for it to the Friends of the Meeting for Sufferings * in London, and request their assistance as occasion may require."

An interesting minute of the Yearly Meeting occurs in 1741 :

A letter from our friend, James Logan, directed to Robert Jordan and others, the Friends of this meeting, being offered, it was delivered to Samuel Beston, Robert Jordan, Anthony Morris, John Bringhurst, Jacob Howell and Caleb Raper, who were appointed a committee (as is usual in like cases) to peruse the same and report whether

* The Meeting for Sufferings, so called because it was originally formed to investigate and relieve the sufferings of Friends in times of persecution, was the executive body of the Yearly Meeting. A number of its members were influential at court, and on many occasions rendered invaluable service to their Philadelphia brethren.

it is fitting to be read here or not ; who withdrew for some time, and being returned reported, that the subject matter of the letter related to the civil and military affairs of the government, and in their opinion was unfit to be read in this meeting. The meeting concurring in opinion with the committee, therefore, it was not read here, of which the clerk is desired to acquaint the Friend who sent the same.

We have a contemporary account of the same proceeding in a letter from Richard Peters to John Penn. The writer not being a Friend got his information second-hand, and made a few errors. The names of the committee are not all correct, and the "expedient" to stifle the letter was but the common practice in all papers addressed to the meeting. Of course also no parliamentary motions were made. It is quite likely the coat-tail incident is true. If so it shows the smallness of the support James Logan had in the meeting.

The Yearly Meeting being held the week before the general election, Mr. Logan, by his son William, sent them a letter wherein he is said to enlarge on the defenceless state of the Province, and of the ill consequences that may ensue to men of their principles procuring themselves to be returned to the Assembly, but his good design was eluded by the following expedient. Some members moved that a committee might be appointed to peruse the letter and to report whether it contained matters proper to be communicated to the meeting at large ; accordingly Robert Jordan, John Bringhouse, Ebenezer Large, John Dillwin and Robert Strethill were appointed to inspect the epistle and report whether it contained matters which were fit for the meeting to take into consideration. On examina-

tion, they reported that the letter contained matters of a military and geographical nature, it was by no means proper to be read to the general meeting, but some persons who understood those matters might be desired to consider and answer it. Robert Strethill singly declared that considering the letter came from one who was known to have had abundance of experience, was an old member, and had a sincere affection for the welfare of the Society, he was apprehensive, should this letter be refused a reading in the meeting, such a procedure would not only disgust him, but the body of Friends in England, especially as it might be supposed to contain several things that were intended for the good of the Society at these fickle and precarious times. But John Bringhouse plucked him by the coat and told him with a sharp tone of voice, "Sit thee down, Robert, thou art single in the opinion," etc.*

In the letter Logan says he has always held defensive, but not offensive, war to be lawful. But it is not his purpose in now speaking to prove this, for he recognizes that the unlawfulness of all war is an avowed and well-understood principle of Friends. All government is founded on force, and a militia is necessary to secure the country from attack. The whole system of judges, sheriffs, etc., implies force, and it must have drilled and armed backing to make it effective. The Friends of Pennsylvania, at a liberal estimate, do not include more than one-third of the people, and the others have a right to laws

* "Pennsylvania Magazine," Vol. VI., page 403. The whole of James Logan's letter is printed here.

by which they may properly protect themselves, and while Friends profess faith in Providence to protect them, they are not careful to observe Christ's other precepts, but lay up treasures on earth, and thus draw upon themselves the attacks of enemies. Hitherto Pennsylvania has been an inconsiderable colony, but is now a choice and easy prey to any enemy. War is not unlikely in the near future. The people are clamoring for defence, and he urges upon the meeting that those who for conscience' sake cannot join in the movement should decline to allow themselves to be used as candidates, and publicly announce they will not serve even if chosen.*

* "It is now several months since I received from my kind friend J. Logan a copy of his printed paper sent to your yearly meeting, at the reading of which I confess I was not a little troubled and surprised, not that I believed it would be of so much weight as to occasion any considerable embarrassment among yourselves only as it would be a public declaration of differing sentiments and a basis for your enemies to build a good deal of mischief upon as I observe has since happened. . . . The argument entirely turns on his assertion of all government being founded on force. If this is once cleared and it is demonstrated it is so, yet to prove his argument of any force in this case he must make it plain that there is no difference in the degrees of it but that the force exercised in the correction of a child is the same as in cutting the throat of an enemy."—Dr. Fothergill to Israel Pemberton, Second month 8th, 1742.

The position taken by James Logan,* while never having official recognition by the Meeting, was undoubtedly held by a considerable number of Friends for the coming forty years. They constituted the sort that made up Franklin's fire company ; † that armed themselves against the "Paxton Boys" in 1764, that supported John Dickinson, Charles Thomson and their friends in urging the resistance which led to the Revolutionary war, and that finally separated and formed the Free Quakers. Many of those who did not separate acknowledged the

* Nevertheless Logan was able to give the Quaker argument quite forcibly.

"I always used the best argument I could, and when I pleaded that we were a peaceable people, had wholly renounced war and the spirit of it, that were willing to commit ourselves to the protection of God alone in an assurance that the sword could neither be drawn or sheathed but by his direction, that the desolations made by it are the declarations of his wrath alone; that the Christian dispensation is exclusively one of peace on earth and good will to men; that those who will not use the sword, but by an entire resignation commit themselves to his all-powerful Providence shall never need it, but be safe under a more sure defence than any worldly arm,—when I pleaded this I really spoke my sentiments, but this will not answer in English Government."—2nd September, 1703.

† Franklin doubtless grossly exaggerates the number of such Friends. See Sparks's "Life of Franklin," Vol. I., page 151.

validity of the Quaker testimony, and their own errors. The most of them were young men, drawn away by the warlike excitements of the times and the seductive influences of Franklin and his associates. Those who had the most right to speak for the Meeting, with the great majority of the membership, stood unflinchingly by the views of Fox and Penn, not only through the French and Indian wars but in the more trying days of the Revolution. The Yearly Meeting never gave any uncertain sound.

Logan was out of sympathy with Friends not only on the question of war, but he also supported lotteries, which the Meeting condemned. In a remarkable letter introducing Franklin to Thomas Penn, written in 1749, he tells of his friend's abilities and judgment, "crowned with the utmost modesty." Among his good deeds he speaks of the establishment of the Philadelphia library, the raising of militia companies in 1747, notwithstanding that "one Sauer, a Dutch printer in Germantown, who publishes a weekly paper in his own language, is so much of a Quaker that he writes against bearing arms on any account," and of setting up two lotteries, from the proceeds of which a battery was erected.

Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting addressed

THE OLD COURT-HOUSE AND FRIENDS' MEETING.

the Meeting for Sufferings of London in 1742 in explanation of the political situation. This body contained a large number of members active in public life, and probably better represented the political aspirations of the Society than the Yearly Meeting, in which the country members from both Pennsylvania and New Jersey had the preponderating influence. Reference is made to the statements sent over by Governor Thomas's friends, and to the hold Friends had on the part of the community not affiliated with them religiously. Their reasons for retaining by proper means the power they had acquired, and the overwhelming support they received from the people, are clearly shown. The letter is a complete answer to the charges frequently made that by dubious methods for selfish purposes they thrust themselves into the Assembly.

We are truly thankful that it has pleased the Lord to dispose you to support us in the defence of our Christian privileges and civil rights, and though we are not covetous of power, yet being entrusted with many valuable privileges which induced our predecessors to transport themselves into this then wilderness country, and having by the Divine blessing on their endeavours cultivated and improved the same, and we now enjoying the fruits of their labours, believe it to be our indispensible duty as far as lies in our power to prevent our posterity's being deprived of these advantages, and notwithstanding a few unsteady persons under our name were induced by the in-

terest of some men in power to join with others (of whom some were persons not lawfully qualified or entitled to be concerned) in a petition to the King which contains unjust and groundless insinuations against us, we can assure you that the people in general, and especially the most religious and considerate of those not of our Society are very much dissatisfied with the conduct of those men, and so averse to any change of our Constitution, that they would readily join in any measures that may be necessary to disappoint the authors of this attempt on our privileges, and to shew their disposition to have the administration continued, as it has hitherto been, principally in the hands of Friends, of which we think a more plain proof need not be offered than that in the most remote county of this Province at the last Election, all the Representatives returned to serve in the Assembly were of our Society; and although those in the Opposition to Friends were very active, yet of 1150 Freeholders that voted (in which number were not above 20 Friends) they could prevail with scarce 200 to join with them.

As we are not willing to say anything more at present than we conceive absolutely necessary, we refer you to our Friend Richard Partridge, who is more particularly instructed in such matters as we suppose may be enquired into in the further consideration of these affairs. We shall conclude with observing that the situation and constitution of this Province is particularly adapted to the disposition of Friends and of many others of the religious inhabitants in like manner principled against bearing arms, and we are willing to depend on that good Providence which has hitherto protected us, and we trust will always preserve us, as we are patiently and humbly resigned to the Divine Will, in which disposition our worthy ancestors surmounted the many difficulties and exercises they were long engaged in, and we have faith to believe our sincere concern to maintain their testimony will likewise be blessed with an happy issue, altho' we have with sorrow to observe that we meet with great opposition from the immediate descendants of our first worthy Proprietor,

whose zealous labours in defence of our principles were very eminent in times of the greatest danger.

London Friends promised aid as desired, and in 1742 the Yearly Meeting replies : " The kind assistance you have been pleased to afford in the affair to which your epistle alludes we gratefully acknowledge, and make no doubt of the continuance of the same beneficent disposition toward us as occasion may require. And we humbly trust that the same Almighty Power which supported our worthy ancients in much greater trials and hath hitherto favored us will make a way through the present difficulties and enable us as we abide faithful to maintain our Christian testimony for the gospel of peace."

In 1744 they strengthened their testimony by endorsing a minute adopted in London " against persons professing with us carrying of guns for defending their ships, persons and goods, and in being concerned in privateering or as owners of ships going with letters of Marque " . . . "Also to signify to them (subordinate meetings) the unanimous sense of this Meeting that all professing with us be cautioned and earnestly admonished against purchasing of prize goods, knowing them to be such, as a practice altogether inconsistent with our principles."

Little appears on the Meeting records bearing on the political situation till 1755, when war was already in operation and the pressure on peace practices and other Quaker rights and privileges was becoming stronger. In the spring of this year, just before Braddock's defeat, the Quarterly Meeting again addressed their English brethren. It will be noticed that this is a defence, in some respects an unanswerable one, justifying the attitude of the Quakers in the Assembly. Hints are thrown out that they may have to give up their places, but the sentiment on this subject was evidently not quite ripe. There was still hope that by judiciously following their past course of action their influence in the State might be preserved without a compromise of principle. Events soon to follow showed the fallacy of this hope.

From the Quarterly Meeting of Friends held at Philadelphia the fifth day of the fifth month, 1755.

To our Friends and Brethren of the Meeting for Sufferings in London:

Dear Friends:

The foundation of our dependence on and connection with each other being that brotherly love and fellowship by which our Lord and Master distinguished His disciples from the world, we trust nothing more is necessary from

us to engage your concern and assistance than to make you acquainted with the difficulties we are now under and the advantages we may reasonably expect from your exerting yourself for us at this juncture.

We have on some former occasions been obliged to inform you that the inclinations and views of our present Proprietaries seem to be so essentially changed from those which their truly honourable Father had, that they for some time past have appeared disposed to abridge, and we fear to deprive us of many of those liberties and privileges which we derive from the original concessions and charter on which this Government is founded. This we apprehend proceeds very much from their not bearing in mind that the first settlers of this Province were men of interest and reputation in their native country, and were principally induced to remove from thence with the prospect of enjoying and securing to their posterity that liberty of conscience which they preferred to every temporal consideration. For the sake of this they adventured with their families and substance to undertake a long and dangerous voyage and to cultivate this then a wilderness country, not without a large share of difficulty and hardship, to the diminution of their estates and the imminent danger of their lives. That they were not inconsiderate nor weak men nor such whom necessity or misconduct had forced from their former homes is very evident not only from the knowledge some yet living had of their conduct and characters, but from the circumspection, prudence and religious consideration, of which they have left valuable testimonials in the concessions, laws and first frame of government settled and agreed upon between them and our worthy Friend William Penn in England.

We are sensible that a great share of merit and esteem is due to the memory of that great good man whose benevolent and disinterested love of mankind has engaged the veneration of all wise and good men among us. Yet we are likewise desirous it should be frequently remembered that these advantages and immunities we enjoy were

purchased at a considerable expense by our forefathers who, wisely considering the instability of human affairs and the intoxicating effects of increasing wealth and power, made the most timely and effectual provisions they could then devise to prevent their posterity being deprived of these advantages.

On an impartial and calm review of the transactions of the government it will appear that in divers instances the Proprietaries and their deputies have extended their prerogatives and obtained concessions from the people, some, with their consent; others, by custom; and thereby made a large addition of power and treasure which the people did not originally intend to part with. But while the fundamentals of our Constitution remained unattacked, and there appeared no design to enervate the principles on which it was established, we thought it was prudent to submit to smaller inconveniences. We now think our circumstances are such that we have abundant cause to complain that the most unwearied endeavours are and have some time past been used, and various artifices attempted, to wrest from us our most valuable privileges, and the conduct and language of those whose duty it is to protect us in the enjoyment thereof, fully convince us of the pernicious tendency of their designs.

In these times the name of liberty is so highly regarded that few are in much esteem who do not profess to maintain and defend it. To succeed, therefore, in a scheme to deprive us of ours, it was necessary, first to represent us as being unworthy of it, and if possible to obtain a belief of our having forfeited it by wilful neglect or an obstinate refusal to do what was incumbent on us for the support and preservation of the Constitution we profess so much value for. The measures which some years past have been pursued by most of those appointed to preside over us evidently shew that this point hath been constantly kept in view and every opportunity watched to subject us to difficulties, and thereby furnish some appearance of grounds for the charges with which we were to be loaded.

Those who are conversant in the management of Publick Affairs must know, that where many of various dispositions and sentiments are concerned, it is not easy, scarce possible, to conduct every design and carry it into execution in the most unexceptionable way. Some allowance must therefore be made for human imperfections, and we hope it may with truth and justice be said small allowances are requisite to reconcile the conduct of the people of this Province so far as they have been concerned in the Legislature to these Christian principles of fearing God, honouring the King, and promoting peace and good will among men, and we hope the desire of pursuing measures consistent with these principles will still animate the sensible and judicious of our Society, and that they will freely resign the right we have in the government, whenever it may appear impracticable for us to preserve it and those principles.

We have the more just grounds for this hope, as it is well known that many have voluntarily declined acting in the executive powers of government, and some in the Legislature, as they found themselves incapable of preserving the peace and tranquility of their own minds and steadily maintaining our Christian testimony in all its branches. And were there a sufficient number of men of understanding, probity and moderate principles proposed for our Representatives in whose resolution we could confide to preserve our liberties inviolated, we should be well satisfied to have the members of our Society relieved from the disagreeable contests and controversies to which we are now subjected, but while arbitrary and oppressive measures are publickly avowed by those who desire to rule over us, and our country so heartily and unanimously calls upon us to maintain the trust committed to us, we cannot after the most deliberate consideration judge we should be faithful to them, to ourselves, or to our posterity, to desert our stations and relinquish the share we have in the legislation.

The increase of the number of the inhabitants of this

Province is now very great, and the much greater part are not of our Society, and especially in the back counties. Yet such is the confidence reposed in us, that after the utmost efforts had been used, and the pulpit and press exercised against us, our former Representatives were at our last election chosen throughout the Province by the greatest majority ever known, without accounting the freemen who are foreigners, on whose credulity and ignorance it has been unjustly asserted that we have industriously and artfully imposed. And this was done, not only without the solicitation, but in some instances without the privity or approbation of some that were chosen.

And it is remarkable that for sixteen years successively, more than half of which was a time of war, a sett of men conscientiously principled against warlike measures have been chosen by those, of whom the majority were not in that particular of the same principle; and this we apprehend may be chiefly attributed to the repeated testimonies we have constantly given of our sincere and ready disposition to provide for the exigencies of the Government, and to demonstrate our gratitude for the favours we enjoy under it by cheerfully contributing towards the support of it according to our circumstances in such manner as we can do with peace and satisfaction of mind. That this has been the constant practice of our assemblies, the records of their proceedings will evidently shew.

We cannot therefore be insensible of the injury done us, to have our principles and conduct represented in such manner as to render us odious to our neighbours and contemned by our superiors, to whom we think ourselves obliged by the strong ties of gratitude and interest. And this injustice is greatly aggravated by the consideration of the station of those by whom it is committed. Could our proprietaries be persuaded to put themselves in our station and duly to consider the principal inducements the first settlers of the Province had to improve a wilderness, and that it is by their industry, and the reputation they and their successors obtained for their justice, hospitality and

benevolence, so great numbers of our countrymen and others have been induced to settle among us and advance the Proprietaries' Estate to its present value, we have no doubt they must assent to the reasonableness of what we desire, which is, that they would either exercise the Government over us themselves, or according to the original contract [have] themselves fully represented by a person of integrity, candour, and a peaceable disposition; for while their Deputy is of a different disposition, and continues limited by instructions inconsistent with our rights and liberties, we cannot expect the Government will be conducted with prudence or supported with satisfaction.

We consider that in the present situation of public affairs, the exigencies being great, the supplies must be proportioned thereto; and we only desire that as we cannot be concerned in preparations for war, we may be permitted to serve the government by raising money and contributing towards the Publick Exegencies by such methods and in such manner as past experience has assured us are least burthensome to the industrious poor, and most consistent with our religious and civil rights and liberties, and which our present Proprietaries, when one of them was personally present, consented to and approved, and to which no reasonable or just objection hath ever since been made.

We apprehend the interest of the Proprietaries and people are united, and that they are not Friends to either who would separate them, and we heartily wish it were in our power to make the Proprietaries truly sensible of this, and to convince them that these are our inclinations and desires. We are not ignorant that very contrary sentiments have been artfully insinuated by some of those whom they have unhappily reposed confidence in, and thus the free intercourse which ought to be maintained between them and their people hath been obstructed, and occasions ministered for misunderstandings which, with more openness and freedom, might easily have been obviated.

One point we have therefore in view by laying our

case so fully before you, is that, as there are some among you whose stations and circumstances will entitle them to a free conference with our Proprietaries; We earnestly desire your engaging such in this necessary service. The attempt must be allowed to be laudable, and if it succeeds, undoubtedly rewardable, the making of peace having a blessing annexed to it by the Author of every blessing.

Were a sense of the satisfaction resulting from the hearty concurrence and union of their Friends in promoting their interest sufficiently impressed on the minds of our Proprietaries, we cannot but think they would remove from their Councils and favours all such who would separate them from us, and then whatever difference of sentiments might sometimes happen we should hope to find them really disposed to maintain the liberties and privileges we are justly entitled to, and to promote universal peace and good will among us.

The people of this Province in general, and Friends in a more particular manner, have interested themselves nearly, and exerted their interest vigorously in the support of the rights of the Proprietaries on several occasions, some of which your meeting has been acquainted with, and we doubt not the same affection and respect still subsists in the minds of Friends in general, to whom it will be extremely pleasing to see that harmony restored by which our mutual welfare might be promoted.

. . . . . .

We shall conclude this with the salutation of true love and respect, and remain your Friends and Brethren.

Signed by appointment on behalf of our said Meeting.

The winter of 1755-6 was one of difference and perplexity among Philadelphia Friends. On the one side were the men of spiritual power, whose

voices exercised the prevailing influence in the meetings for business. On the other were the disciples of Logan, who being manifestly out of sympathy with well-established Quaker views, urged the necessity of vigorous defence, caught the surrounding warlike spirit, and with personal service and money aided Franklin and the militia. Between the two stood the "Quaker governing class," who controlled the Assembly, who, while admitting and commending the peaceable doctrines of Friends, considered their own duty accomplished when they kept aloof from personal participation and supplied the means by which others carried on the war. This third section was the product of long experience in political activity. To these men and their predecessors was owing the successful administration for decades of the best governed colony in America. They were slow to admit any weakness in their position, but it was becoming increasingly evident that it was untenable. There was actual war, and they were, while not personally responsible for it, indeed while opposing vigorously the policy which had produced it, now a component part of the government which was carrying it on. Would they join their brethren in staunch adherence to peace princi-

ples, and thus give up their places in the state as John Bright did afterwards when Alexandria was bombarded? Would they join Franklin, their associate in resisting proprietary power, and throw aside their allegiance to the principles of William Penn, whom they professed greatly to honor?

The question was answered differently by different ones as the winter and spring passed away. Pressure was strong on both sides. The Governor writing to London says: "The Quaker preachers and others of great weight were employed to show in their public sermons, and by going from house to house through the Province, the sin of taking up arms, and to persuade the people to be easy and adhere to their principles and privileges." This was an enemy's view of a conservative reaction which was going on within the Society, which was tired of compromises, was willing to suffer, and could not longer support the doubtful expediency of voting measures for others to carry out, of which they could not themselves approve.

We have seen how in the early winter the Assembly rebuked what they considered the impertinence of the protest of a number of important members of the Meeting against a war tax.

The Meeting mildly emphasized the same difference in their London epistle of 1756 :

> The scene of our affairs is in many respects changed since we wrote to you, and our late peaceful land involved in the desolations and calamities of war. Had all under our profession faithfully discharged their duty and maintained our peaceable testimony inviolate we have abundant sense to believe that divine counsel would have been afforded in a time of so great difficulty; by attending to which, great part of the present calamities might have been obviated. But it hath been manifest that human contrivances and policy have been too much depended on, and such measures pursued as have ministered cause of real sorrow to the faithful; so that we think it necessary that the same distinction may be made among you as is and ought to be here between the Acts and Resolutions of the Assembly of this Province, tho' the majority of them are our Brethren in profession, and our acts as a religious Society. We have nevertheless cause to admire and acknowledge the gracious condescension of infinite goodness towards us, by which a large number is preserved in a steady dependence on the dispensations of divine Providence; and we trust the faith and confidence of such will be supported through every difficulty which may be permitted to attend them, and their sincerity appear by freely resigning or parting with these temporal advantages and privileges we have heretofore enjoyed, if they cannot be preserved without violation of that testimony on the faithful maintaining of which our true peace and unity depends.

We have an excellent opportunity to view the internal condition of affairs among the Friends in the letters of Samuel Fothergill, brother of the noted Dr. John Fothergill. He was making a religious journey through the American col-

onies, having already traversed all the southern and northern provinces, and reached Philadelphia shortly after Braddock's defeat, where he remained all through the following winter and spring. His letters were private, principally to his wife and sister, and are evidently the unstudied impressions made by his personal observation and experience.*

He first attended the Yearly Meeting, which was "very large and to great general satisfaction." He did not approve of the doings of the Assembly. "As the Assembly for the Province have in some respects, I think, acted very inconsistently with the principles they profess, I had a concern to have an opportunity with such of them as are members of our Society, being twenty-eight out of thirty-six; and they gave some Friends and me an opportunity this morning to relieve our spirits to them."

He is first inclined to think they have hopelessly compromised their principles. "All the hardships of last winter, though very great, were nothing in comparison with the anguish of spirit I feel for this backsliding people, though there are, and even in the Assembly, a number who

* "Memoirs of Samuel Fothergill." By George Crosfield, page 214, et seq.

remember with humble trust and confidence the everlasting Protector of His people."

"Our epistle from Philadelphia to the monthly meetings meets with a different reception as the people differ ; the libertines, worldly-minded and opposers of the reformation in themselves, cavil and rage, but the seed is relieved and the honest-hearted strengthened."

Matters, however, improved during the winter. He writes in the spring : "The love of power, the ambition of superiority, the desire of exemption from suffering, strongly operate with many under our name to continue in stations wherein they sacrifice their testimony and are as salt which hath lost its savor. But as it now appears that we can scarcely keep the truth and its testimony inviolate and retain those places, many stand up on the Lord's side and declare they have none on earth in comparison with the God of their fathers."

He does not have any respect for the line of forts. "Many thousand pounds of the Province's money have by the Assembly's committee been laid out in erecting forts upon the frontiers and placing men in them ; a step as prudent, and likely to be attended with as much success, as an attempt to hedge out birds or the deer. . . . In contempt and mockery of the attempt eleven

people being destroyed a few days ago within a mile of one of their forts." He also objects to the lack of respect in the tone of the Assembly's addresses to the Governor. "It is altogether imputed to B. Franklin, their principal penman, who I have sometimes thought intended to render the Assembly contemptible, and subject our religious Society to the imputation of want of respect for authority, as a factious sort of people; and I fear he has gained his point."

It is the injustice to the Indians to which the trouble is to be attributed. "The five Indian nations who conquered the Delawares sold some part of the ancient inheritance of these last to the Proprietors, some few years since, alleging the right of sale to be in them as conquerors, and the goods were divided amongst the five nations principally, to the discontent of the Delawares, who still judge themselves justly entitled to some equivalent for their land, which either the inattention of the Proprietors or their want of information induced them to disregard ; and it is pretty much in this land, and land fraudulently obtained, that the barbarities are committed."

"The consternation in which this Province hath been thrown by the Indians is not diminished. The Assembly have sold their testimony as Friends to the people's fears, and not gone far

enough to satisfy them. The Indians have complained without redress, and are now up in arms and have destroyed many people. . . . . The ancient methods of dealing with the Indians upon principles of equity and justice seem neglected, the spirit of war and destruction endeavoring to break loose, in order to reduce this pleasant populous Province to its ancient wilderness condition."

"4th month 9th, 1756.—Had some labor amongst Friends to endeavor to prevent a cruel Indian war ; and had also a conference with the present and late Governor along with J. P. (John Pemberton) upon the present position of affairs ; they received us with candor, but our labor was ineffectual, for on the 10th, a day to be remembered through many generations with sorrow, the Governor agreed to proclaim war against the Delawares, and delivered the hatchet into the hands of some of the Indians."

As the address of twenty Friends to the Assembly had predicted, a large number refused to pay the war tax of 1755. Others were quite willing to do so. The differences were evidently acute. "The Assembly here have passed a law imposing a tax upon the inhabitants of this Province ; and as a great part of the money is to be laid out for military purposes many solid Friends

can not pay it, which is likely to bring such a breach and division as never happened among us since we were a people."

The Friends who refused to pay the tax thought it peculiarly hard that they were forced to suffer heavy losses through the action of their fellow-members of the Assembly. These Assemblymen and their friends pointed out on the other hand that these taxes had been paid in the past, and that it was ultra-conscientiousness which prevented the willing support of the government in this hour of peril. The question was a difficult one. Quakers had hitherto refused a direct war tax and paid everything else, even when war expenditures were mingled with others. The stricter Friends considered that this tax, though disguised, was of the objectionable sort, while others did not so place it. The difference accentuated itself by condemnatory criticisms, and in 1757 the Yearly Meeting appointed a committee of thirty, who reported that it was a matter for individual consciences to determine, and not for the Meeting's decision.

"We are unanimously of the judgment that it is not proper to enter into a public discussion of the matter; and we are one in judgment that it is highly necessary for the Yearly Meeting to recommend that Friends everywhere endeavor

to have their minds covered with frequent charity towards one another." The Meeting unanimously adopted this report. This appeal seems to have been successful, and we hear no more of the difference.*

The situation is explained in two letters from James Pemberton to Samuel Fothergill, one dated 11th mo. 1756, the other 1st mo. 1757 :

> Our situation is indeed such as affords cause of melancholy reflection that the first commencement of persecution in this Province should arise from our brethren in profession, and that such darkness should prevail as that they should be instruments of oppressing tender consciences which hath been the case. The tax in this county being pretty generally collected and many in this city particularly suffered by distraint of their goods and some being near cast into jail.
>
> The number of us who could not be free to pay the tax is small compared with those who not only comply with it but censure those who do not.

Notwithstanding the feeling against the Proprietors, the Yearly Meeting insists on their having their just dues promptly. "It should be earnestly recommended to the several Quarterly and Monthly Meetings to use their utmost endeavors to excite the several members of their

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* Further information on this matter will be found in John Woolman's Journal, Whittier's edition, pages 124, et seq.

respective meetings to be punctual in the payment of quit-rents and other monies due from them to the Proprietors, to remove any just cause of reflection on us in this particular."

The deliberations and differences among the Friends of Pennsylvania were helped to an ending by the action of their London brethren. They had been at all times willing to respond to the request of the colonial Quakers for advice and assistance. The petition of the Philadelphians adverse to the Assembly's course of action, and the accounts true and false as to the defenceless condition of the Province which had been sent to London, had made many enemies, and measures were on foot to drive all Quakers from Government places. The London Friends got on the track of these movements and undertook to do what they could to neutralize them. The whole matter is explained in the report of Dr. Fothergill to the Meeting for Sufferings.

At a Meeting for Sufferings the 9th of 4th month, 1756.

John Fothergill, from the Committee on the Pensilvania affair, brought in a report, which was read, and is as follows:

To the Meeting for Sufferings:

The Committee appointed to consider the present state of affairs in Pensilvania, Submit the following account of

their proceedings therein to the Meeting, and request their farther direction in the affair.

The Committee having received undoubted Information that measures were concerting by some persons of Influence here, which would very much affect our friends in Pensilvania, & occasion some material alterations in the present frame of Government in that Province, deputed several Friends to wait upon a Nobleman in high station, in order to request his advice & favourable Interposition.

He acquainted Friends who waited upon him that he discovered a general & strong prepossession excited against us as a people both here and in America, chiefly he believed from the repeated accounts transmitted hither of the distressing situation of affairs in that Province, which were too readily credited by all ranks and ascribed to the principles and Conduct of the Society. That even those in considerable Stations, who had been our firm Friends on various occasions now seemed to be so far influenced as to be either wavering in their opinion, or disposed to join in the popular cry against us: and that from the present appearance of things such seemed to be the temper of many that no measures however disadvantageous to us, could be offered to either house, which would not at least meet with a Strenuous support.

Nevertheless that he and a few more from a thorough knowledge & approbation of our principles and Conduct in divers particulars; and from a consideration of the injustice it would be, to exclude those from any share in the Legislature of a Province, who had so highly contributed to it's present value & reputation, were desirous that we ourselves if possible, should apply a remedy, rather than leave it to be done by the public, who from the disposition they were in, seemed inclined to the severest, a Clause for totally excluding our Friends in Pensilvania & other parts of America from having seats in any Provincial Assembly by imposing an Oath having actually been part of a bill now before Parliament, That as the majority of the present Assembly were of our Profession who from their

known principles could not contribute to the defence of the Country now grievously harrased by the Indians under French Influence in a manner that most people here and even many in Pensilvania thought necessary it seemed but common justice in our Friends to decline accepting a trust which under the present Circumstances they could not discharge, and therefore advised that we should use our utmost endeavours to prevail upon them neither to offer themselves as candidates nor to accept of seats in the Assembly during the present commotions in America.

That if we could give any reasonable hopes this advice would be complyed with, he for one would endeavour to prevent any violent measures from being taken at the present.

But that as much depended on this complyance he earnestly recommended we should not trust to Letters only, or the most pressing advices, but that even some proper persons should be deputed to go over on this occasion.

For should any disaster befall the Province and our Friends continue to fill the Assembly, it would redound to the prejudice of the Society in general, and be the means perhaps of subverting a constitution under which the province had so happily flourished.

He farther recommended it to us, to wait upon some other principal persons in high stations, and endeavour to prevail upon them to join in suspending the resolutions which might have been formed either for a present or a total exclusion.

The Friends acknowledged their grateful sense of his regard & strenuous interposition on their behalf, and on making this report to the Committee it was agreed in pursuance of this advice to wait upon some other persons in high stations on the same account.

In conversation with those to whom the Committee applied they found it was the general opinion that either an immediate dissolution of the present assembly, or a Test to incapacitate any of our profession from setting therein, or both were absolutely necessary to preserve the

Province from inevitable ruin: and We also found that Bills were already prepared for these purposes.

The friends appointed among other things represented that we were satisfied many of our Friends who now sat in that assembly, accepted of seats therein with some reluctance & would cheerfully resign them whenever the country thought other representatives could more effectually contribute to its benefit & security, for which reason we apprehended it would be no difficult matter to induce most if not all of our Society to resign their Stations especially as this might be the means of preventing so dangerous an innovation upon the present Frame of Government of that Province.

Upon the whole, we have reason to expect that thro' the kind interposition of Providence and the favourable disposition of those in power, nothing will be attempted in Parliament this Sessions.

But it is fully expected that our Friends will not suffer themselves to be chosen into assembly during the present disturbances in America.

And as the committee have engaged that our utmost endeavours shall be used with our Friends in America, to fulfil these expectations,—We are of opinion that an Epistle should be forthwith drawn up and sent to our Friends in Pensilvania, fully to inform them of the sentiments of the Publick concerning them of the danger they have so narrowly escaped, & the means pointed out for their avoiding it for the future.

And that in pursuance of the advice given us, two or more proper Friends should be engaged to go over to Pensilvania, in order the more fully to explain the present state of affairs, and what is expected from Friends in those parts.

And we are likewise of opinion that proper acknowledgments should be made in behalf of the Society to those persons in high stations, who have manifested so much lenity and regard to us on this occasion and the same time to acquaint them, that no endeavours on our part will be wanting, to influence our Friends in Pensilvania, to con-

duct themselves in such a manner as to merit the confidence reposed in the Society.

And farther the Committee is not without hopes, that their seasonable & diligent application to persons in power may have been the means of strengthening their favourable dispositions towards us, & has furnished various opportunitys to remove many prejudices respecting the conduct of affairs in Pensilvania.

The Meeting for Sufferings and the Yearly Meeting adopted the recommendations of this report, and sent letters to Philadelphia practically recapitulating it. To insure its favorable reception, they sent over John Hunt and Christopher Wilson to use their personal influence in the same direction.

Prior to their arrival, the six members of the Assembly led by James Pemberton had resigned. These resignations were probably the result of conscientious conviction. Those which followed were influenced by a desire to satisfy the demands of London and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings.

Under date of Eleventh month, 1756, James Pemberton writes to Samuel Fothergill, who had returned to his home in England, a letter narrating the turn affairs had taken:

The business which detained me from accompanying thee on shipboard, I mean that of resigning in the Assembly, was completed pretty readily, though afterward

JAMES PEMBERTON.

much disapproved of by Governor Morris and his friends when they found our successors were such as did not answer their purposes.

. . . Having mentioned thus far to public affairs, I may add something further with regard to our last election. Many Friends were under some anxiety to know the contents of the embassy from the Meeting for Sufferings in London, that we might be able to conduct in such a manner as should be consistant with the reputation of Truth, and the sentiments of our Friends on your side, the latter of which could be learned only from the intelligence received in private letters which it was not thought prudent at that time to make too generally known from divers considerations and particularly lest there should be any variation in what the Friends whom we expected might bring, and therefore such Friends who had most regard to the preserving our testimony inviolate, thought it best to decline interesting themselves in the election any further than to prevent a majority of those professing with us being returned as Representatives in the Assembly, and would have preferred that not one under the name should be chosen, and for this reason declined voting themselves, and many others influenced by their example acted in like manner; but notwithstanding this there were too many under our name active in the election, whom no arguments could prevail with to desist, and by this means, and the apprehensions of others of the inhabitants of the ill consequence of being inactive, there are in this county of eight members of the House, two called Quakers, and one that was owned last year, and another who comes to meeting, but not joined in membership. In the other counties several Friends were left out. However upon the whole of the 36 members who make up the House, there were 12 under the name of Quakers, and our adversaries reckoned them 16. J. H. and C. W. [John Hunt and Christopher Wilson] arrived 5 days after the election and on their communicating to the Committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting to constitute a Meeting for Sufferings, it was agreed to be most proper that these

friends should have an opportunity of conferring with all of the members chosen in the late election who went under our name, before they took their seats in the House, and intelligence was accordingly sent to them, and most of them came and much pains taken to convince them of the expediency of their declining to take their seats, to which some of them readily assented; the first was old Peter Dicks and Maylon Kirkbride who, and two others one from Bucks, and another from Chester were all that could be prevailed with to shake off their rags of imaginary honor. . . . The House has been sitting most of the time since the election, and have as yet done little business; they have had under their consideration a militia law, which hath been long in the hands of a committee, and is likely to take up a great deal more of their time; also a bill for raising £100,000 by a land tax of the same kind as your's in England; if these pass it is likely Friends will be subjected to great inconvenience. As the former now stands, as I am told, the great patriot Franklin, who hath the principal direction of forming the bills, hath discovered very little regard to tender consciences, which perhaps may partly arise from the observations he must have made since he hath been in that House of the inconsistent conduct of many of our Friends. That it seems to me he hath almost persuaded himself there are few if any that are in earnest relating to their religious principles, and that he seems exceedingly studious of propagating a martial spirit all he can.*

The ten Assemblymen who resigned, as also those who refused re-election, were succeeded by members of other denominations.† The twelve

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* "The Friend," Vol. XLVI., page 162.

† "The manner in which you had proceeded in the consideration of our affairs, and the engagements you had entered into on behalf of Friends here, appeared to be con-

nominal members of the Society who retained their seats were too few to commit their Church to any policy, and most of them had their actions practically disowned by the ecclesiastical au-

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ducted with a real regard to our true interest, and so perfectly consistent with our sentiments that they were encouraged and assisted by those members of this meeting in doing everything in their power to render the service proposed effectual, in order to which those of our Society who were chosen representatives in the several counties were requested to give them [John Hunt and Christopher Wilson] a hearing before the usual time of meeting in the Assembly, which was readily complied with by all whom there was at that time any prospect of prevailing with to regard the advice and concern of their brethren, and in consequence of it four of them declined taking their seats in the house, and others not of our profession were soon after chosen in their stead, so that there are now but twelve of the members of the Assembly who make any pretensions of being called by our name, and several of these are not acknowledged by us as members of the Society. . . . As six of the friends chosen into the Assembly last year had resigned their seats, and some others since refused to be re-elected those who now remain say they should not think themselves excusable to their constituents if they should decline the service, but we think it may be truly said, they were most of them so clear of intermeddling in the elections and so many friends declined attending or voting in several of the counties, that they appear to be chosen by a majority of people not of our profession many of whom are very apprehensive of the danger from permitting those who have been endeavouring to subvert the constitution to have any considerable share in the legislature."—From Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings to London Meeting for Sufferings, Twelfth month, 1756.

thorities, which year by year grew more urgent against any compromise of principle.

Three courses were open to the political Quakers in 1756.

They might have given up their religious scruples and joined heartily in the defence of the Province ; they might have stood rigidly by their principles, so long as their constituents would have returned them, and allowed the Indians on the one side and the English opponents on the other to do their worst, giving up their places when they had to ; or they might have resigned as they did. The inconsistent position they held in the Assembly was no longer tenable. The first was the course of mere politicians, the second perhaps of impossible heroes, the third of honest men who valued consistency above power. One cannot but wish that in the spirit of the Pembertons, the Fothergills, the Woolmans of their day, they had kept their public places in absolute obedience to their religious principle. The Quakers triumphed in England by non-resistent faithfulness to conviction. Should they not have tried, not abandonment, but non-resistent adherence to place and responsibility, when place and responsibility were honorably in their hands ? Has not the world

needed a more virile example of Quaker government to show the merits of unquailing, passive resistance to wrong and injustice? Would not the Providence upon whom they depended in case of military attack also prove their safeguard if in the line of duty in civil place and attacked by civil enemies? But probably the actual members of the Assembly were not the sort of men to present this brave, quiet front. John Woolman could have done it, but John Woolman would never have been elected, would not probably have made a very practical legislator, and besides, John Woolmans were rare. The Quaker legislators were not careless politicians, neither were they heroes, but they were conscientious men, who, when the issue came baldly, stood by their brethren who controlled the Yearly Meeting, and preserved unimpaired the principle of peace to their posterity.

There was growing up in the Society a belief, which was vastly strengthened by the military experiences of the years between 1740 and 1780, that public life was unfavorable to the quiet Divine communion which called for inwardness, not outwardness, and which was the basic principle of Quakerism.* Quakers had always had

* "That stillness and abstraction I desire does not ap-

strong mystical tendencies. William Penn represented one type of active, militant Quakerism, and Isaac Penington another of passive, introversive Quakerism. In George Fox they were happily blended. The ease and prosperity and public responsibilities of Pennsylvania Friends had tended to develop the spirit of outward activity, useful but dangerous to the inner life. Ultimately it brought about the loss to the Society of many aggressive members, and a growing conviction that the place of Friends was not in political, but in religious and philanthropic work. In these directions their activities were more and more thrown, and the Yearly Meeting was strenuously engaged for several years after 1756 in pressing on its members the desirability of abstaining from civic business.

This was done under the plea that, as matters were, it was impossible to hold most official positions without administering oaths or voting war taxes. The former violated Quaker principles directly, and the latter enjoined on their breth-

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pear at present to be allowed me, nor can I yet attain so deep inward silence and attention as I find necessary, but from wilful disobedience or transgression of duty I am I hope in a good degree preserved."—Israel Pemberton to Samuel Fothergill, Ninth month, 1757.

ren a service against which their consciences rebelled. In the interests, therefore, of liberty of conscience, the meetings urged on the members not to allow themselves to be candidates for judicial or legislative positions, and in time were largely successful.

In 1758 a report came in to the Yearly Meeting from a large and influential committee advising against furnishing wagons for the transport of military stores, and warning against allowing "the examples and injunctions of some members of our Society who are employed in offices and stations in civil government"* to influence anyone against a steady support of the truth. They also recommend that the Yearly Meeting should "advise and caution against any Friends accepting of or continuing in offices or stations whereby they are subjected to the necessity of enjoining or enforcing the compliance of their brethren or others with any act which they may conscientiously scruple to perform."

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* The distinction between the ecclesiastical and political Quakers is further indicated in the following: "Thou knows that we could not in every case vindicate our Assembly who had so greatly deviated from our known principles and the testimony of our forefathers."—Israel Pemberton to Samuel Fothergill, Seventh month, 1757.

The Meeting adopted the report and issued a minute largely in its language. The holding of all civil offices is not advised against, only such as call for questionable proceedings in "these perilous times."

> And as the maintaining inviolate that liberty of conscience which is essential to our union and well-being as a religious Society evidently appears to be our indispensable duty, this Meeting doth with fervent and sincere desires for the present and future prosperity of Truth among us, and the preservation of individuals on the true foundation of our Christian fellowship and communion, caution, advise and exhort Friends to beware of accepting of, or continuing in, the exercise of any office or station in civil society or government by which they may in any respect be engaged in or think themselves subjected to the necessity of enjoining or enforcing the compliance of their brethren and others with any act which they conscientiously scruple to perform; and if any professing with us should, after the advice and loving admonitions of their brethren, persist in a conduct so repugnant to that sincerity, uprightness and self-denial incumbent on us, it is the sense and judgment of this Meeting that such persons should not be allowed to sit in our Meetings for discipline, nor be employed in the affairs of Truth until they are brought to a sense and acknowledgment of their error.

The advice is strengthened in 1762. "It is likewise desired that all Friends may be particularly careful that they be not accessory in promoting or choosing their brethren to such offices which may subject them to the temptation of deviating from our Christian testimony in this

(administering oaths) or any other branch thereof."

In 1763 the Quarterly Meetings are asked to report the success of their "labours" in getting Friends out of compromising offices. Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting reports some success; Chester, "a comfortable account" from one monthly meeting, but "cannot say much" as to the rest; Western (Chester county), "little success, but has hopes of more if the concern continues."

Bucks remarks that as "There appears an uneasiness in several of their monthly meetings with the minute of the Yearly Meeting of 1758 as it now stands, respecting the treating with such as hold offices in the Government, they desire that the said minute may be returned to this Meeting for reconsideration."

Bucks gained from this appeal only the suspension of judgment respecting the last clause of the minute.

The matter went down through the monthly meetings, and in nearly all of them some records are found.

In Goshen, "Third month 11th, 1763, ——— were appointed to treat with such Friends within the Meeting's compass who hold

offices in Government which subject them to a violation of the fundamental privilege of liberty of conscience."

Fifth month 6th, 1763, they report that they have "taken an opportunity with one of the representatives of Assembly,* and that he do not apprehend himself culpable, and as to county commissioners and assessors there are none within the verge of this meeting."

The Friends of these days had a large list of civil delinquencies to trouble them. Bucks Quarterly Meeting, in 1763, reports "That all are not clear of administering oaths, nor of military service"; nor "of purchasing negroes, and that a religious education of them is much neglected"; but they are "free from paying priests' wages and being concerned in prize goods and lotteries." "That Friends should not purchase nor remove to settle on such lands as have not been fairly and openly purchased from the Indians"; that certificates should not be given to such as do, and they should be convinced "of the inconsistency of their conduct

* George Ashbridge, who entered the Assembly in 1743, and notwithstanding the pressure of his ecclesiastical superiors, retained his membership both in the Assembly and the meeting till 1773.

with our Christian profession." In addition to these they now had to see after those who held offices incompatible with the same Christian profession. Whatever Quaker political control was doing for the State, it was accumulating anxieties for "concerned Friends." It should be said, however, that in these moral questions they were pushing ahead of the community, and if some of their own members could not maintain the pace, it was not much to be wondered at.

The withdrawal of the Quaker members of the Assembly did not change its political tendencies. In all things, save a greater willingness to vote money for defence, it showed the same hostility to proprietary encroachments as before. The new members, while not Friends, were of the same political party as their predecessors (indeed, there did not seem to be any proprietary party of consequence in the Assembly), and were elected by the same constituencies. They doubtless had the support of the Quaker voters, and the same machinery (whatever it was) which had hitherto been effective. It was still in popular language the Quaker Assembly, and so remained till 1776, when there was a sudden and radical change. It represented the "Quaker party" (of which probably a majority were non-Quakers) and carried

out its decrees. But the Society of Friends was in no sense responsible for its acts, any more than the Society was for the acts of Benjamin Franklin, who was largely politically affiliated with its members. Hence, while some writers, deceived by the popular language of the day, give the date 1776 as the downfall of Quaker ascendency, they include twenty years which Quakers distinctly repudiate, and which were controlled by such as were not members nor fair representatives of the body. The Quaker control ended with 1756. In increasing numbers after this date they absented themselves from the polls, and though, after peace with the Indians was declared, some Friends were returned to the Assembly, they never exerted more than a modifying influence in it.

John Pemberton writes, in 1757, after the uprooting of the Quaker majority of the Assembly: "Our country people seem to repent Friends being out of the House of Assembly, and if we do not use much precaution it will be next to impossible to prevent a majority of them being chosen next year." He adds, when they find how expensive and how useless the forts are, costing £10,000 per month, and making the Indians "glory in doing mischief near them and the

men" in them, they will be still less likely to be satisfied.

The effect anticipated was produced. In 1760 "there is a majority of such who qualify by an affirmation." The next election, in the fall of 1761, "was the occasion of an addition to the number of the members of our Society, of whom there is now a majority in the House so termed, which, if the war continues, may occasion a revival of our troubles on that account."* It thus appears that the people wanted to elect Friends, and would do so with their consent, but that only such as stood somewhat fast and loose with the Society would allow themselves to be candidates against the expressed wishes of the Yearly Meeting.

A year later the situation has not changed.

"I wish they who are active in these matters could be persuaded to pay more regard to the engagement with respect to the number of those of our Society returned for Representatives, there being now, as last year, very nearly an equal number of our Society, and a large majority of such who do not qualify by an oath."

The "labours" were now, however, beginning to yield fruits. In the fall of 1763 the number

* James Pemberton is the authority for this statement. It does not necessarily mean that all were Friends who refused to swear.

of Quaker Assemblymen was greatly reduced. "I should be very glad if the number of members of Assembly under our name was less, and believe some in that station now heartily wish they had hearkened to the advice of their brethren, dissuading them from accepting the trust, though there are but fourteen allowed members of our Society in the House, yet as divers others are termed such our adversaries take occasion of clamoring and abusing us on this account, and seem now bent upon attempting by violence what they cannot effect by free choice."

This quotation explains the general reference of the day to the Quaker Assembly. In popular estimation, every one who qualified by an affirmation, every one who sympathized with the past policy of the legislative body, every descendant or close relative of a Quaker family, was a Quaker. Thus was saddled upon the Society the responsibility which it diligently sought to avoid, of the conduct of the Government, in which its influence was still unquestionably a strong but not a controlling factor.

The withdrawal from public life of those best qualified to attend to it in the country districts, led inevitably to a weakening of the standard of government. In the same letter with the last

quotation, we have an account of "anarchy and confusion." "Vice of all kinds prevails in a lamentable degree; murders, highway robberies and house-breaking are committed, and the perpetrators have passed undiscovered; the minds of the people in general are agitated with great ferment, and the rulers of the people cause them to err; the few in public stations who have virtue enough to put the laws in execution have their hands weakened by mean and mercenary opposition, so that desolation appears almost inevitable."

James Pemberton rather apologetically explains to Dr. Fothergill his own resumption of political life in 1765. He was much pressed by his constituents, and with great reluctance consented. It was done with the approbation of Friends, and he hopes it will not be looked upon as a violation of the agreement the English Friends had made. He thinks he can do some good to good causes, and keep out objectionable competitors, and so on, all of which seems excellent, and induces one to wonder why the same reasons should not have prevailed on other Quakers to maintain a power so evidently for the good of the Province, now that the Indian wars were over. The probabilities are that they

preferred to be a minority in the Assembly sufficient to leaven its actions, yet also so small that they would not be responsible for acts of a warlike character.

It is possible Friends looked forward to a time when they might consistently resume their political activity and influence, when wars would be over, and a policy of equity and friendship with the Indians might be renewed. In the sixties there seemed such a possibility. But if they ever cherished the idea it does not show itself in the records of the times, and was rudely shattered by the Revolutionary war.

In this war they were in an embarrassing position. It was, politically speaking, the work of their party, which had always stood for civil liberty, and which plunged into it with ardor. It was, however, opposed to their anti-revolutionary and their anti-martial principles. "We cannot be instrumental in the setting up or pulling down of any government," they said, in 1778. This negative attitude brought much misrepresentation and much persecution, and left them more than ever convinced that the place of a Quaker was not in political life. From that day to this their corporate influence has been exerted against such participation.

It is sadly evident to anyone who, without prejudice, places himself in contact with the spirit and tendencies of the men who for seventy-four years controlled the destinies of the government of Pennsylvania, that the high ideals and buoyant hopes with which William Penn started were only imperfectly realized. The government in which the sober will of the people should prevail in all internal affairs, without factional or selfish strife ; where all should be equal, every conscience should be unfettered, no man's word should need any confirmatory oath ; where fraternal kindness and even justice should go out to the natives, and no force should be needed or employed except toward individual disturbers of the peace ; where human life should be sacred and human rights preserved, and where over all and in all there should be the pervasive, restraining and directing influence of God's Holy Spirit, present because merited by holy lives and reverent hearts,—this government, which Penn saw in his imagination, never existed in fact. Unholy party spirit was at times strong, religious liberty was abridged, oaths were only partially abolished, capital punishment was extended, the Indians were abused and angered, and warlike passion and war itself invaded the

territory ; and finally the effort apparently broke down before the influences exerted by seemingly insurmountable opposing forces. This partially unsatisfactory outcome is to some extent explained by these facts : (1) The English Crown, by its power of veto, its undefined authority, even over the charter, and by its frequent wars and consequent demands on the colony, was a continual interference with the plans of the Government ; and (2), the Proprietors of the second generation were out of sympathy with the principles of their fathers. Yet one could not but expect obstacles, and there were many counterbalancing advantages. Perhaps at no other time or place in this defective world could the trial have been better made, and one has to admit that the noble dream, even when worked out by a man so practical, so resourceful, so skillful in adapting means to ends, of such an imposing personality as William Penn, was incapable of full accomplishment under any conditions likely to be realized. All of the actors in it were not pure and consecrated themselves, and nothing else could save it.

And yet it was not a failure. The world will return to it when times are riper. There will be another trial of the principles of a pure democ-

racy, with perfect civil and religious liberty, perfect justice to neighbors, never attacking, and without need or provision for armed defence, which will be permanently successful. The leaven is working, and one by one men are being convinced of the right and expediency of some or all of its features. Nations are adopting them, and with every advance there is an approximation to the experiment of Penn.

It must not be forgotten that notwithstanding all difficulties and imperfections there was for seventy years an efficient government in Pennsylvania, based largely on Penn's ideas. There were no wars or external troubles. The home affairs were quiet and orderly. Prosperity and contentment reigned, immigrants came in unprecedented numbers, and the public finances were so managed as to encourage trade, and lay no unnecessary burdens. Peace and justice were for two generations found available defences for a successful State.

The failures are as instructive as the successes. Had William Penn's Indian policy prevailed, there was no need of Pennsylvania's embroilment in the French and Indian wars. The policy of peace is closely interwoven with that of justice. If other powers are exasperated by un-

fair dealings it will not do to fold one's arms and cry for peace. The experiment, in order to be conclusive, must involve rigid uprightness on the part of the State that objects to war. When, therefore, the breakdown of Quaker policy, in 1756, is pointed to, it should also be stated that it was very largely due to the injection into the political situation of the non-Quaker management of the Proprietors. As long as exact justice prevailed peace existed, and this is the lesson of Pennsylvania.

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